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JOURNAL OF A CRUISE TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN, 1842-1844, IN THE FRIGATE *UNITED STATES* WITH NOTES ON HERMAN MELVILLE





# JOURNAL OF A CRUISE TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN, 1842-1844, IN THE FRIGATE UNITED STATES

WITH NOTES ON

# HERMAN MELVILLE

EDITED BY

CHARLES ROBERTS ANDERSON



WITH ELÈVEN WATER-COLORS FROM THE JOURNAL OF WILLIAM H. MEYERS

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#### **PREFACE**

Most of the manuscripts used in the preparation of this volume may be found in the Naval Records and Library, Navy Department, Washington, D. C. Chief of these is the journal entitled "Abstract of a Cruise in the United States Frigate United States, under the Command of Captain James Armstrong, Esquire, Bearing the Broad Pendant of Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones, in the Pacific Ocean, in the Years 1842-1844." The official records of the frigate United States for these years include the Log Book, the Muster Rolls, the Pacific Squadron Letters, the Commanders' Letters, and the midshipmen's journals of William Sharp and Alonzo C. Jackson (the last-named being deposited in the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress).

The illustrations and the passages reproduced in Appendix C are from William H. Meyers's "Journal of a Three Years Cruise" in the sloop of war Cyane, which formed a part of the Pacific Squadron in 1842-1844. This journal is in the possession of the Honorable Nelson B. Gaskill of Washington, D. C., whose courtesy and generosity have sweetened the routine of

scholarship.

The editor wishes to express his deep indebtedness to Captain Dudley W. Knox, Officer-in-Charge, Naval Records and Library, for permission to publish and for valuable criticism; to Mrs. Alma R. Lawrence and Miss Loretta MacCrindle of the same staff for research assistance; to Professor J. Fred Rippy of the History De-

partment of the University of Chicago and to Professors Jay B. Hubbell and Clarence Gohdes of the English department of Duke University for reading the manuscript; and to Eugenia Blount Anderson for critical aid in reading the proofs.

CHARLES ROBERTS ANDERSON.

Duke University.

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JOURNAL OF A CRUISE TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN, 1842-1844, IN THE FRIGATE *UNITED STATES* WITH NOTES ON HERMAN MELVILLE



#### INTRODUCTION

#### Herman Melville

THE cruise of the flagship United States to the Pacific Ocean in 1842-44 was distinguished by an occurrence unknown to the officers of the ship and unplanned by the Navy Department. When the frigate touched at Honolulu in August, 1843, on a visit to several of the Pacific island-groups, Herman Melville shipped on board (Muster Roll, No. 572), quietly and unobserved, in the capacity of an ordinary seaman. At this time, aged twenty-four, he was indeed an obscure man, his literary career as yet all before him. After a year and a half of whaling in the Pacific and a year more spent in roving about its islands as a beachcomber, he now traded his freedom for a berth on an American man-of-war, weary of his wanderings and with eyes set on home. Although it has been known for some time that Melville returned from the South Seas on board the United States, none of his biographers have investigated the naval records of this cruise, so that, except for apparently autobiographical passages in his books, this interesting chapter in his life has remained until now unwritten.

On August 21, 1843, four days after Melville came on board, the frigate weighed anchor and sailed from Honolulu. Her next port was several thousand miles to the southward at the island of Nukahiva, in the Marquesas group, where fifteen months earlier Melville had deserted from the Acushnet—immortalized as the "Pequod" in Moby Dick (1851)—exchanging the

romance of the sea, which had become intolerable to him on this whaleship at least, for the promise of hazardous adventures in a valley of reputed cannibals. These adventures he has related, with more or less fidelity, in his Typee: A Peep at Polynesian Life. During a Four Months' Residence in A Valley of the Marquesas (1846). Now, in October, 1843, he was unexpectedly given the opportunity of saying a second and last farewell to his Noble Savages as he sailed past Typee Bay, secure on the deck of a man-of-war. But this visit was a brief one, for after a day and a night at anchor his ship stood westward to Tahiti, the largest of the Society Islands, where she remained for a week.

At Tahiti and on the neighboring island of Eimeo Melville had spent several months during the previous year, first as a mutineer from the Sydney whaler Lucy Ann and later as a roving sailor in search of adventure. Now, he was enabled to renew his acquaintance with the scenes, and possibly with some of the characters, which form the staple of his Omoo: A Narrative of Adventures in the South Seas (1847). Towards the end of October, 1843, the United States again got under way and stood out from "this Fairey Island which lies reposing on the bosom of the wide Pacific like some glittering gem on the brow of the beautiful," as the ship's scribe rhapsodizes; and Polynesia became a closed chapter in Melville's life, though it remained a rich storehouse of experiences which he was to relive vicariously in his books.

After a pleasant voyage of thirty days, the frigate dropped anchor in Valparaiso. The next six months were spent on the west coast of Latin America, about half of the time being consumed in an uneventful trip

to Mazatlan, Mexico, and the other half in port at Callao, Peru, the Pacific Station of the American Squadron. Finally, on July 6, 1844, the United States was dispatched for home by way of Cape Horn and Rio de Janeiro. She arrived at Boston on October 3, and ten days later, after the ship had been stripped for repairs, her crew was discharged.

Such, in bare outline, were the fourteen months that Herman Melville spent in the United States Navy. Although the period of his residence was not signalized by any events of historical importance, it was full of experiences of value and interest to him in the acquisition of his self-tutored education. In his own words the navy, as well as the whale-fishery, was his Harvard College and his Yale; and his career on board the United States was the concluding episode, the graduation year, of his four years in the South Seas—a period out of which came the bulk of his writings, and the best.

In White-Jacket; or The World In a Man-Of-War (1850), Melville tells of his experiences in the United States Navy. The narrative is technically limited to the last leg of his homeward-bound voyage—from Callao, Peru, to Boston, Massachusetts—which occupied only three months; but into this short space he telescopes most of the interesting experiences of his entire fourteen months on board the frigate United States. Approximately one-third of the book is a straightforward account of daily life on a man-of-war, with detailed descriptions of the ship and the ship's company. Doubtless this pictorial part is accurate enough, though the manuscripts at hand are naturally silent about matters that were commonplace knowledge to every seaman on board. For the narrative part of White-Jacket Melville

made use of several methods in dealing with his materials: first, expedient alterations of fact to suit the exigencies of his tale; second, dramatic elaboration of certain actual events; and, finally, deliberate invention of his most powerful scenes. Yet he declares emphatically that he was writing "an impartial account . . inventing nothing"; and his biographers have taken him literally at his word.

In such a controversial book Melville felt that a certain anonymity would be desirable, and most of his alterations of fact were directed toward this end. Accordingly, the frigate United States was rechristened the "Neversink." Likewise, each of the officers was given a descriptive sobriquet. Although these thin disguises were immediately recognized by his shipmates and other naval people, they gave the book an air of fiction for the general public. Only one character was allowed to retain his real name-"Jack Chase, our noble first captain of the top" and the real hero of White-Jacket, who was the veritable John J. Chase listed on the Muster Roll as No. 513. Further, Melville changed the chronology of the homeward-bound cruise, sacrificing accuracy to picturesqueness and to the exigencies of his narrative: for example, the week's stopover in Rio de Janeiro was considerably prolonged to make room for the many fictitious events set in this magnificent harbor, and Norfolk rather than Boston was selected as the port of arrival.

These minor alterations for the sake of anonymity and expediency are but the prologue to Melville's more elaborate embellishments of actual events for dramatic effect. A half-dozen major episodes were based upon real occurrences, but were dramatically elaborated to

heighten the effect of characters and scenes or were given an invented twist at the end to point an attack on some naval abuse. A sample of this method of handling his materials is cited in connection with the manof-war race out of the bay of Rio (see page 60, and note 90, below). Perhaps it may be felt that a cruise in the South Seas a century ago should have furnished some experiences sufficiently thrilling to have served the dramatist unadorned; and there is at least one considerable incident in White-Jacket that was an almost literal transcription from life—the account of the cooper's fall overboard (see pages 56-57, and note 66, below).

Although Melville could cleave to literalness when it suited his purposes, the reader of this journal will discover that little of what went into the making of White-Jacket was straightforward autobiography. Following closely the route of the homeward-bound cruise of the United States in 1844, Melville's wholesale inventions multiply in a soaring crescendo, from light comic preludes to the stirring and eloquent climaxes by which White-Jacket is remembered. More than a dozen of the most important scenes, making up almost half of the volume, were manufactured out of whole cloth. Several of them, at least, found their source in contemporary travel books; many more, perhaps, were revampings of sailor-lore, garnered from the tall tales he had heard in the maintop on pleasant nights. Some of these concoctions are the brightest bits of foolery in this best-humored of all Melville's volumes; some are given as lurid personal experiences, traps for the unwary biographer; some are vehicles for his most incisive attacks on naval abuses.

Indeed, White-Jacket was not written primarily as

either autobiography or fiction. It was a document intended for some use in the world: a virulent piece of propaganda, by an eye-witness, aimed at reforming abuses in the navy in general and calling for the abolition of corporal punishment in particular. During Melville's residence of fourteen months on board the United States, the Log Book records one hundred and sixtythree floggings, the vast majority of which resulted directly or indirectly from drunkenness and smuggling liquor. Moreover, though the offences ranged all the way from "obscene language" to "desertion," the legal maximum of twelve lashes was almost invariably inflicted. As propaganda, White-Jacket's appearance was shrewdly timed, for in the very year of its publication, 1850, a bill was before Congress to abolish flogging. It was undoubtedly the very currency of this agitation which prompted Melville to write his book and get on the band wagon of reform. Although the influence of White-Jacket in effecting the passage of this bill has been greatly overestimated, Melville's book proved sufficiently provocative to attract the attention of naval officers and to call forth replies from three rear-admirals. The actual records of the cruise of the United States to the Pacific Ocean in 1842-44, therefore, take on an especial interest by reason of Melville's presence on board.

# Monterey and Naval History

The frigate United States in 1842-44 was the flagship of Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones, sent out to take command of the Pacific Squadron. The Pacific Ocean during these years was the scene of action of several affairs of international importance, since it was the focal point of the colonial ambitions of several nations. Even as the United States arrived on her station, a French squadron under Rear-Admiral Du Petit-Thouars, commanding la Reine Blanche, was in the act of taking possession of the Marquesas Islands in the name of France, culminating with a triumphant ceremony at Nukahiva on June 2, 1842. Before the summer was out, the French added Tahiti and the Society Islands to her Pacific possessions. These acts of seizure caused a storm of protest, especially in England, but an accord was finally reached. In less than six months, however, the situation was complicated by Lord George Paulet's sudden occupation of the Sandwich Islands, February 25, 1843, in the name of Great Britain. This time France complained, with America joining loudly in the protest, so that in the following summer the islands were restored to their native rulers, with the admission that the seizure had been unwarranted.

In the meantime America had joined in this international rivalry for a foothold in the Pacific. Though in general averse to colonization, the United States nevertheless had her eyes upon California, at that time still a possession of Mexico. Commodore Jones, an intrepid sea-officer but a somewhat precipitate commander, was just the man to bring such a tense situation to a head. Well aware that England likewise coveted the rich territory of California, he credited rumors to the effect that she had negotiated a treaty for its purchase and that Mexico had declared war on the United States; and without waiting for orders he made a sudden descent upon Monterey on October 19, 1842, planted the American flag on the Mexican fort, and declared California thenceforth a possession of the United States. Discovering his mistake the next day, he restored the territory to its owners. As a diplomatic gesture of reconciliation with Mexico, he was recalled from his command, but he was not censured by his government, which tacitly approved his judgment and his conduct under the circumstances. This fiasco, however brief and trivial in outward seeming, was another brand added to the burning which four years later kindled into flame in the Mexican War. Yet this significant episode has received scant treatment at the hands of historians. The present volume offers the fullest account known of the Monterey affair—the reports of two eye-witnesses, from different points of view, and the official correspondence relating thereto.

Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones, essentially a man of impulsive action, had a long and distinguished career in the United States Navy. Having entered as a midshipman in 1805, he saw active service as a lieutenant during the War of 1812. With five gunboats, mounting twenty-three guns and manned by only one hundred and seventy-five men, he attempted to oppose the entrance into Lake Borgne of Vice-Admiral Cochrane's fleet, which was transporting General Pakenham's army against New Orleans. On December 14, 1814, one thousand British in forty barges, mounting forty-two cannon, attacked him and succeeded in capturing the gunboats only after a desperate encounter, which lasted two hours and which left Lieutenant Jones dangerously wounded. Years later, in 1826, he was put in command of the Pacific Squadron, and in the flagship Peacock he visited the Sandwich Islands, where he concluded a commercial treaty between King Kamehameha II and the United States—the first treaty made by these islands with a foreign power. Again, in 1836, he was appointed to command the United States Exploring Expedition to the South Seas, but resigned because of a disagreement with the Navy Department as to personnel and equipment. Finally, he was appointed a second time to command the Pacific Squadron on the present cruise in 1842, with the results mentioned above. It is interesting to note that Commodore Jones lived to command the Pacific Squadron a third time, and that again his independent conduct brought about his recall, this time with a courtmartial suspension from the service from 1850 to 1855, at which time he was retired from active duty.

The records at hand contain other matter that should prove interesting to the naval historian. Considerable information relative to the long and honorable history of the frigate United States is now first collected, especially with reference to her reputation as the fastest sailer in the navy. Again, in 1841, supposedly, the first Regulations for the Uniform and Dress of the Navy of the United States had been passed, and these, including the prescription of the now-famous "Badger Whiskers," were enforced on this cruise; but the present researches carry the date back at least twenty years and offer the earliest known data concerning the use of a regular uniform in the American navy. Further, as part of his program for improving the tactical discipline of the navy, Commodore Jones frequently exercised the squadron in fleet maneuvres. Likewise, with the hope of reforming the morale of the service, he circulated a temperance pledge among the officers of his squadron, and similarly he made an effort to put an end to duelling among the midshipmen. The latter had already been abolished by law, though it still existed in fact; the former was an abortive step in the direction that led to the abolition of the grog ration at

the outbreak of the Civil War, though strict temperance among the officers did not come until a much later date. In this connection, some account of the institution of shore-liberty, with its attendant whiskey-smuggling and drunkenness, is given. All of these matters are referred to in the notes.

In the text itself is much information concerning the ports visited: life and scenery in Madeira and in the Latin-American countries, and comments on the state of civilization in the various Pacific islands. Thus even those parts of the journal recorded before Melville's enlistment at Honolulu are interesting to students of his life, for they describe in detail the ports at which he touched homeward-bound. Finally, in an appendix will be found more extended accounts of shore-leave in Peru, life in Honolulu, and the war between Peru and Bolivia—in which Jack Chase actually participated as a Peruvian officer, having deserted from the United States Navy for the sake of the adventure, just as Melville records in White-Jacket.

In 1898, Samuel R. Franklin, who had been a midshipman on the United States in 1842-44, published his Memories of a Rear-Admiral, in which he included much information relative to the present cruise. Though Franklin was at times surprisingly accurate, reminiscences half-a-century after the fact are not entirely trustworthy; and this is particularly true of his references to Herman Melville, whose books, indeed, frequently seem to have prompted his Memories rather than to have been corroborated by him. However this may be, generous quotations from Franklin's memoirs are included in the present volume for their supplementary worth.

## The Manuscripts

Manuscript records relating to the history of the United States Navy a century ago are extremely rare. Even when they do exist, they are usually meager in scope and perfunctory in subject matter. Anyone who has examined a typical logbook of the period knows what to expect: accounts of the wind and the weather, reckonings of latitude and longitude and of the distance sailed, statements of provisions received and issued, of ports made, of ships passed, and of punishments administered. Even a naval engagement receives little comment beyond the mere record of statistical facts. The journals of midshipmen, modeled upon these logbooks, occasionally add a gratuitous remark of a more personal nature, and the official correspondence sometimes furnishes further details by way of explanation and justification of the facts recorded. Not only have the official records of the cruise of the frigate United States in 1842-44 been drawn upon for the present volume, but these materials have been richly supplemented by the fortunate survival of a private journal kept on board, unofficial in tone and generous in the scope of its subject matter.

The manuscript of this journal is deposited in the archives of the Naval Records and Library, Navy Department, Washington, D. C. It consists of thirty-eight ledger pages, closely written in a clear, rounded backhand, and embellished with ornamental capitals. Fourteen of these pages are filled with various tables, which have been assigned to Appendix A. The remaining twenty-four pages, which constitute the text proper of the journal and give a running account of the cruise from January 9, 1842, to October 4, 1844, have been

reproduced in the ensuing pages exactly as they were written, retaining all peculiarities of spelling, capitalization, and grammar, with a few exceptions as follows. For the sake of clarity, the paragraphing has been revised and the punctuation standardized; the standard spelling of proper names has been placed in square brackets after the incorrect forms in the text; and, in a score of places, missing words, letters, and figures have been supplied, also in brackets. The manuscript is slightly torn on pages 22 and 23 (see pages 41-44, below), but the text has been restored by reference to other official documents and by conjecture. The following obvious slips of the pen have been emended without further comment: page 24, line 13, "and" for "and and"; page 39, line 18, "is" for "in"; page 60, line 18, "were" for "were were"; page 61, line 4, "covered" for "vovered"; and page 63, line 9, "rented" for "rentend".

The authorship of this journal is not indicated in the manuscript by name, initials, or other clue. From the unofficial tone, however, and from the absence of the author from the party that was introduced to the Emperor of Brazil (see page 28, and note 16, below), it is probable that he was not an officer of the ship. But from his inclusion in the select party that visited the volcano in Hawaii (see page 51, and note 57, below), and from other internal evidence, it is certain that he was something more than an ordinary seaman—probably a clerical supernumerary. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that the author indisputably had access to the official records of the ship; it is all but proved by the fact that the Log Book of the United States is written in the same autograph (certainly from

September 7, 1842, to the end of the cruise) and by the further fact that under date of Madeira, February 9, 1842, it records the quatrain, beginning "Whose head in wintry granduer [sic]," which appears also in the journal (see page 24).

Further light is thrown on the identity of the anonymous author by a loose sheet inserted in this same Log Book; it is a poem of twelve lines, in the same autograph, inscribed to "J. J. C. by his sincere Friend G. W. W." An examination of the Muster Rolls of the frigate United States reveals two possible identifications: George W. Wallace, an ordinary seaman, and George W. Weir, a private of the marine guard. Although no specimens of their handwriting are available—none below a petty officer signed the Pay Roll -it seems reasonable to ascribe the authorship to one of the two, for it was not uncommon, then as now, for an enlisted man to be assigned to clerical duties without change of rank. Of course, the identity of handwriting is not an infallible proof of authorship, for the poem, journal, and Log Book may have been the productions of three distinct authors, all copied by one amanuensis; and, after all, "G. W. W." may have been some supernumerary or passenger not mentioned on the Muster Rolls. The matter is not one of great importance.

Finally, the "J. J. C." to whom the poem was inscribed is beyond a doubt John J. Chase, the captain of the maintop on the frigate United States, 1842-44, and the real hero of Melville's White-Jacket. The poet and journalist "G. W. W.," therefore, was in all likelihood Melville's character "Lemsford," who figures in White-Jacket as a literary man and as a poet whose "Songs of

the Sirens" were accidentally "published" in the Bay of Rio de Janeiro by being fired through the muzzle of one of the main-deck guns, their hiding-place, during a national salute. In the closing pages of White-Jacket, as the ship nears home, this aesthetic young man is made to exclaim: "I venerate the sea, and venerate it so highly, shipmates, that evermore I shall abstain from crossing it"; with striking similarity, on the Schedule of Arrivals and Departures appended to his journal, "G. W. W." has written opposite Boston under Days in Port: "Forever for me!" In further confirmation of this identification, it may be mentioned that according to Melville "Lemsford" was an ardent admirer and protégé of Jack Chase, the evident dedicatee of the manuscript poem, "Respectfully inscribed to J. J. C. by his sincere Friend G. W. W."

This "Abstract of a Cruise in the Frigate United States" is further supplemented by eleven illustrations and by generous excerpts (found in Appendix C) taken from William H. Meyers's "Journal of a Three Years Cruise," 1841-44, in the sloop of war Cyane, which formed a part of the Pacific Squadron at this period. This highly interesting journal of several hundred ledger pages, with over one hundred water-color paintings executed on the spot, is in the possession of the Honorable Nelson B. Gaskill of Washington, D. C. Meyers was a man of varied accomplishments. That he was more than a mere gunner, his official rank on the Cyane, is shown by his appointment as head of the Naval Laboratory for pyrotechnic research at Washington on his return to America. As an artist, he shows genuine and striking native talent, if little training. Another of his avocations was that of an amateur doctor; he carried a case of instruments with him on the cruise and practiced his profession among the inhabitants of the various ports touched at. His interest in literature is indicated by various references to his reading—Shakespeare, Bulwer, etc.—and by the entry: "June 23, 1843, St. Diego. Went on shore . . . saw the far famed Mr. Russell of Dana's 2 years before the mast." Most important of all, though he exhibits the lack of effective schooling, he was a journalist with a bright racy style, a keen eye for observation, and a gift for satirical comment. A brief vita of Meyers is

attached to Appendix C.

It is just possible that Melville saw this journal and had it in mind when he related the following anecdote in White-Jacket: "Lemsford was not the only literary man on board the Neversink. There were three or four persons who kept journals of the cruise. One of these journalists embellished his work—which was written in a large blank account book—with various colored illustrations of the harbours and bays at which the frigate touched; and also, with small crayon sketches of comical incidents on board the frigate itself. He would frequently read passages of his book to an admiring circle of the more refined sailors, between the guns. They pronounced the whole performance a miracle of art. As the author declared to them that it was all to be printed and published so soon as the vessel reached home, they vied with each other in procuring interesting items, to be incorporated into additional chapters. But it having been rumored abroad that this journal was to be ominously entitled, 'The Cruise of the Neversink, or a Paixhan Shot into Naval Abuses;' and it having reached the ears of the ward-room that the

work contained reflections somewhat derogatory to the dignity of the officers, the volume was seized by the master-at-arms, armed with a warrant from the captain. A few days later, a large nail was driven straight through the two covers, and clinched on the other side, and, thus everlastingly sealed, the book was committed to the deep. The ground taken by the authorities on this occasion was, perhaps, that the book was obnoxious to a certain clause in the Articles of War, forbidding any person in the navy to bring any other person in the navy into contempt, which the suppressed volume undoubtedly did." At any rate, this account serves aptly as a description of Meyers's journal, which fortunately escaped execution at the hands of the censor, and which, undoubtedly, would have proved far more palatable to Herman Melville than the journal which now follows.

# ABSTRACT OF A CRUISE IN THE UNITED STATES FRIGATE UNITED STATES

UNDER THE COMMAND OF
CAPTAIN JAMES ARMSTRONG, ESQUIRE
BEARING THE BROAD PENDANT OF
COMMODORE THOMAS AP CATESBY JONES
IN THE PACIFIC OCEAN, IN THE YEARS
1842-1844

## —Description of the Frigate United States—

The United States Frigate United States is a fine Single banked Frigate, measuring 178 feet from the Knight heads to the Tafrail, 45 feet moulded beam, and 29 feet from her Kelson to Spar Deck; mounting 20 thirty two's and 2 twenty four pounders on Spar Deck, and 30 twenty four pounders on Gun Deck; and of 1750 tuns. She was built in Philadelphia, Pa., in 1797 and has always been considered the fastest sailor in the American Navy.<sup>1</sup>

# [Hampton Roads, Virginia]<sup>2</sup>

We got underweigh from Hampton Roads, January 9th., 1842, at Meridian; took our departure from Cape Henry, it bearing S. W. by W. 3/4 W., distant 5 Miles. After being well clear of the Land, The Pilot Boat Mary, Captain Rudd, came bounding along most gracefully, for she is a fine looking clipper built Schooner of graceful proportions, looking like a skimmer of the Seas. In an instant she hove too, and the Pilot gave us a parting good bye; she then stood back to Norfolk. The Commodore & Captain walked the poop in moody silence. The Capt. then ordered sail to be made, and in a few minutes it was spread to advantage, and the "Old Wagon" [was] once more in her adopted element, where she has won so much imperishable glory for her country and honour for herself.3 Soon the Light House of Cape Henry settled in the Horizon, and, as night came on, the last twinkle of its light glimmered indistinctly and was seen at last to sink into the deep blue sea. What a moment for thought of all that is dear to us, Country, Home, & friends perchance never to return, but resign life up on the billows of the Ocean or some sequestered Island in the Great Pacific!

The weather continued fine and breezes pleasant untill crossing the Gulph [Gulf Stream], when we encountered a few squalls of wind and rain. It was then pleasant untill our arrival in Funchal. During the passage to Rio we had strong breezes North of the Line, and the Old States<sup>4</sup> dashed over the billows "like a prancing steed that knew his rider." For a few days we had

light squalls of wind and rain; but on the 1st. of May [March?] it cleared away, and not a cloud was to be seen, and the gentle and balmy breezes seemed to say that we would soon be wafted into the congenial climes in the neighborhood of the tropics.

Sunday Morning came, calm as a sunday morning should come, with a light air skipping o'er a sea rolling in long swells, as though it were sleeping never to be disturbed or Lashed into foam, the fierce contending brine seems o'er a thousand raging waves to burn. The sun rose in all its splendour from the cloudless horizon and swept over the trackless deep to its meridian altitude and gently sunk to rest in the far westbut I am in the morning. The sails are hanging lazily against the masts. The starb<sup>d</sup> watch are buisaly engaged holystoning the decks, cleaning their bright work, and getting the Ship ready for inspection, while larbd. watch are still in their hammocks paying their respects to Morpheus. At 10 O'Clock the Ship in all her parts is as clean as the most fastiduous Northern housewife keeps her cottage.

At 10.30 the shrill notes of the Boatswains Pipe, assisted by his mates, is heard, "All hands to Muster." The crew were then mustered around the Capstan. After muster the Capstan Bars were arrainged on the Shot Boxes, both sides of the Quarter Deck, for the accommodation of the crew during Divine Service. As the Men passed aft, I was struck with the beauty of the scene, the men and boys all drest in their snowy frocks and Blue Jackets and Trowsers. Commo Jones, Gomes,

accompanied by the Hon. Ino. S. Pendleton of Virginia, our worthy and talented Minister to the Court of Chili, Capt. A. [Armstrong],8 and ward Room Officers then took their seats. Our Chaplain, "the Revd. The Bartow of New York," then stept forward to the Desk, which was covered with the American Flag. The Service of the Episcopal Church was then read. All was quiet save the soft toned voice of the Chaplain, who gave us a most eloquent and impressive Sermon. And who were his hearers? Who were gazing anxiously in his face as he explained the word of God? Some "450 Children of the Storm" whose daily life cause them frequently to be amidst danger on the high and giddy mast, furling or reefing the canvass when the vessel staggers under more than she [can] bear, or aloft wrestling with the fury of the gale. It was a solemn [occasion], one that would have gladdened the heart of a pious philanthropist—"twas truly divine worship at sea."

During the time of Service the Officer of the deck, "Mr. B.," was leaning against the hammock netting, eyeing ever and anon the dog vane that he might catch the direction of the skipping breeze as it passed over in "Cats paws" the glassy surface of the sea. After the benediction the crew passed quietly forward and to the gun deck. Dinner was then piped. They then seated themselves to their respective Messes to enjoy their Beef and Pudding, for man "he cannot live like woodcock upon suction, But like the Shark and Tiger must have prey." The calm beauty of the day seemed to have made it a day of rest for all. The Old Ship la-

bours not but lies in all her beauty, power, and strength on the rolling bosom of the smooth Ocean like a slumbering Lion. Here and there is seen Jack walking to & fro, seemingly wrapt in his own originality—some sitting pensively musing on friends left behind, others again perusing some book that chance threw in his way, others again in groups in cheerful conversation—the Officers variously engaged in amusing themselves, writing their Journals or letters for home, or playing Backgammon or Chess. Thus ended the Sabbath at Sea.<sup>12</sup>

## Funchal, Island of Madeira

We arrived and came to an anchor in this Harbour, February 8th., 1842, after a pleasant passage of 29 days from the United States. This Island is situated in the Atlantic Ocean, in Latitude 32.°38' North, Longitude 16.°54' West. It is composed of one continual hill of considerable height, extending from East to West, the declevity of which on the South side is cultivated and intersperced with vineyards; and in the midst of this slope the merchants have built their country seats, which form an agreeable prospect as taken from seaward. The air in general of the Island is mild and salubrious and is strongly recommended by the faculty to the Invalid for a restoration of health, when change of clime is deemed necessary, so that of late years it has become a place of great resort by those who have been advised to seek it for that express purpose. The top of the Mountain Pico Ruivo is covered with perpetual snow—

Whose head in wintry granduer towers,
And whitens with eternal sleet,
While summer in a robe of flowers,
Lies sleeping rosey at his feet—13

and the valleys below abound in fruits and fragrant flowers: Oranges, Lemons, Pomegranates, Peaches, & grapes in abundence. The hedges are lined with Cactus's of a great variety, Jessemine, daizes, and Roses; besides, a great variety which at *home* are reared with tenderness and care in hot houses grow here spontaneously in the valleys.

The principle buildings are the Custom House, Citadel, a Catholic Church, and the Convent of San Rosa Lenhora da Monk[?], which presents a romantic appearance, being built of Freestone, about a mile back and half a mile above the Level of the Town. The building is perfectly white and is completely surrounded with the richest verdure. There is a salesroom in the building for the disposal of fancy articles and curiosities made by the Nuns, consisting of Laces and collars, flowers of Feathers, & shells and straw work of every description. While walking the deck of a clear evening, musing on the past, the present, and the future, my revery was broken. I stopt, and, leaning listlessly over the hammock netting, the sound of the vesper bells could be heard distinctly stealing o'er the still waters of the bay; and, assisted by imagination, could be heard the deep and solomn tones of the organ and chaunting of the nuns at their devotions while all else were hushed in sleep, and which certainly tended to create a feeling of solle mn awe in the minds of those who kept their solitary watch on the decks of the stately vessels which lay at anchor on the bosom of the peaceful waters, but who little dream that in a few short hours they are destined to dare the storm.

> Which comes resistless and with foaming sweep, Upturns the whitening surface of the deep.<sup>13</sup>

The Town of Funchal is situated on the South side of the Island at the bottom of a large bay towards the sea. It is defended by a small fort built on a rock (Loo Rock) which stands a short distance from the shore, besides a fortification built in front of the town with a heavy battery of cannon. Behind the fort is the only place where it is possible for a boat to land, and even here the beach is covered with large stones, and a violent surf continually beats upon it. The Town is in form of an amphitheatre. The houses are built of freestone or brick, one or two stories high. They are dark. Only a few belonging to the English Merchants or the principle inhabitants have glass windows; the others have a kind of lattice work in their stead, which hang upon hinges and may be lifted up or kept shut as occasion requires. The Viceroy paid us a visit and was received with the most polite attentions on the part of our Commodore and his Officers; on his departure gave him the customary salute. February 11th., having completed our necessary arrangements, and having shipped a complete band of Portuguese musicians,14 laid in a sufficient stock of fresh provisions to last us untill we arrived in Rio, not forgetting a store of wine15 for which this Island is so celebrated, we hove up the anchor, made all necessary sail, and stood out of the beautiful harbour of Funchal to encounter again the dangers of the Mighty deep.

#### Rio de Janeiro

On the 11<sup>th</sup> of February we got underweigh from the beautiful Island of Madeira and stood out once more upon the treacherous sea. Nothing of interest occurred during the passage. On the 7<sup>th</sup> of March made the

Land. On our approach light blue Mountains were seen in the West just after sunset, and with a fair wind we approached the Land rapidly. At dark the wind lulled, and the sea become perfectly smooth; at 11 O'clock a fresh breeze springing up on our Quarter, which sent [us] nearly 13 knots through the water. The night though dark as any cloudy tropical night when neither Moon or stars relieve the intense darkness -astern of us was a long and perfectly straight line of sparkling light caused by the Ships rapid way through the water, and around the bows as forward as the bowsprit end was dazzling foam. Sheet lightning played incessantly near the western Horizon, and sometimes the whole surface of the sea seemed to be illuminated. As the clouds desperced and moon arose, the breeze decreased. Next morning was calm. High Land towered over the fog banks, which were slowly drawn upwards and desperced by the heat of a powerfull sun. It again fell calm, and the sea became as smooth as a Lake. Numbers of that beautiful fish the Dolphin were caught, and the vivid various colours displayed as they lay upon our decks exceeded description.

Soon after mid-day black curling ripples stole along the hitherto glassy surface of the water, sail was made, the sea breeze freshened, and we steered towards the entrance of that magnificent Harbour, Rio de Janeiro. We continued up to our anchorage and let go in 20 fathoms water and took the following bearings: "Sugar Loaf["] S. by W., Fort S. W., La Gloria Hill W.½ S., Cathedral W. by N., Center of Cobras Island W. N. W. The Sunday following I went on shore to ramble untill the evening. Meeting accidentally with an old acquaint-

ance, we visited the Emperor's Garden, <sup>16</sup> which seemed to me like an immense hot bed, so luxurious and aromatic were the shrubs and so exotical the appearance of every tree and flower, intersperced with fountains and statutes. Years may elapse and not in the least diminish my recollection of the novelty and charm of this my first view of tropical vegetation. <sup>17</sup>

The City of Rio is a rich and populous place. It is situated in Latitude 22.°56' S. & Longitude 42.°14' W. on the West side of the Harbour. It is large but poorly built, and the streets are narrow. It is built, however, upon low ground which [was] formerly swampy. The houses are mostly built of stone and have, after the manners of the portuguese, a Balcony in front. It is surround[ed] by hills of vast height, which exclude the refreshing sea breezes, so that in the summer season it is suffocatingly hot and unhealthy. Few strangers visit the Metropolis of Brazil without being disappointed, there are such numbers of half-naked negroes hastening through its narrow streets—the Offensive sights and smells, beside the uncivil and ill-looking native population. In the envi[r]ons of the City, however, there are many good houses in beautiful situations, and, while enjoying delightful rides amidst the rich and varied scenery, all thoughts of the City are forgotten.

Rio de Janeiro is under the Brazilian Government and in the year 1828 was the Regal seat of Don Pedro [Dom Pedro I], but he shortly after abdicated in favour of his Son, then a Minor, and returned to Europe. We were often visited by the Chargé de Affairés of



"UNA MUGIR [MUJER] CAPEANDO UN TORO [RIO DE JANEIRO]"



"STRAITS OF LE MAIRE, TIERRA DEL FUEGO [CAPE HORN]"



other Countries, and they were always received with those polite attentions which are invariably adopted in our Naval Service towards the delegates of another Nation. On the 27th of March at 5.30 in the afternoon all hands were called to "up Anchor," and as usual all was confusion from the Commodore to the Birth deck cooks, as their is a station for every man in the Ship. Directly our anchor was clear, The French & English Man of War boats fastened to us and commenced towing us out. At 7 finding the Ship drifting down on a Brazilian Frigate, let go the larbd anchor, clewed up all sail, took a hawser to a Brig on our starbd. bow, hove in on the Hawser, weighed the Anchor, and again made sail. After getting outside, a fine breeze sprung up, the necessary canvass was soon spread, and we went on our way towards the much dreaded Cape Horn, on our way to Valparaiso.

## Valparaiso, Chili

On Sunday March 28<sup>th.,</sup> after being clear of the land, our boats propperly secured, the anchors stowed, chains unbent and paid below, the chafing gear laced in their proper places to protect the rigging and spars, and everything put in complete order for bad weather, it was then Jack's turn to prepare himself for the same, against the cold and sleet of this much dreaded "Cape." Sou Westers, Oil Cloth Jackets, and trowsers, which had seen some service before and had lain by since the last cruise in the bottom of the Bag neglected—they were now hauled out and overhauled; thick woollens were darned and patched to make them warmer & more comfortable, appearing determined to protect themselves from the cold which has been rep-

resented to be so disagreeable. Of which I have no doubt "at particular seasons of the year," altho' we were happily disappointed; for it proved a much better passage than we anticipated, though we had a few squalls of wind and rain, and suffered but little inconvenience from the cold, the Thermometer being at 28 when at its lowest. 19 After rounding the Cape, we encountered a slight gale, which drove us as far South as 59.° However, the wind then proved favourable which soon wafted us to Valparaiso, where we arrived the 6th of May after a passage of 41 days from Rio. The Hon. Ino. S. Pendleton, U. S. Minister Plenipotentionary to Chili, left us here. On leaving, saluted him with 13 Guns, hoisted the chilian Flag at the Fore, and saluted the Government with 21 Guns, which was returned by the Fort.

Valparaiso, the principle Sea Port of Chili, is situated in Latitude 33.°01′ South, Longitude 71.°37′ West, and in this town is centered nearly all the Foreign Commerce of Chili. Its population is estimated at 65,000. They are very indolent and will not work unless necessity compels them, but are exceedingly cortuous to strangers. The City stands at the bottom of three hills, which are called the Fore, Main, & Mizen tops, and is built on the gradual ascent of the same nearly to the summit. They are inhabited by those who live upon the profits which arise from pandering to the vices and follies of others. They afford a romantic prospect when taken from Seaward.

Santiago, the Capital of Chili, is situated about 90 miles from the coast and is bounded on the West by the Andes Mountains and on the East by a large plain. In it is centered nearly all the internal traffick of the country. Its population is 40,000. The streets are well paved. The Public buildings are large and handsome, particularly the Churches. The Republic of Chili is divided into three Independences [Intendencies], Coquimbo, St. Iagos [Santiago], and Concepcion [Concepción]. Though bordering on the torrid zone, it never feels the extremity of the heat, being screened on the East by the Andes. The fertility of the soil corresponds with the benignity of the climate and is wonderfully accommodated to European productions. Nature, too, has enriched the country with valuable Mines of Gold & Silver, Copper, Tin, and Lead, also with salt springs and mineral waters, and coal is found in abundence near Concepcion. The principle Rivers are the Maule & Biobio, which rise in the Andes and flow West into the Pacific Ocean. The Ceders of the Andes rival those of Lebanon, the Myrtle attains the height of 40 or 50 feet, and the olive equals the largest trees of our own forests. The fruits and vegetables are of the choicest descriptions. The Mountains are covered with perpetual snow, but on the Coast snow never falls. It seldom and in some places, it is said, rain never falls. Dews, however, are abundent. This Country was first discovered by Diego Almagro, a spaniard, in 1528.20 He passed the Andes from Peru, and, though he lost the greater part of the soldiers who accompanied him in this expedition, he was received with great submission by the inhabitants. It has 9 Months out of 12 as summer, and it richly deserves the name of Valparaiso, which translated is the Vale of Paradise.

On the 7<sup>th</sup> of May we again got underweigh, and with strong breezes we soon left the Harbour out of sight

astern and shaped our course for Callao, Peru. The breezes continued moderate and weather very pleasant. On the 14<sup>th</sup> a peak of the Andes in sight, being the first land made since leaving Valparaiso. The next morning hove in sight of the Island of Lorenzo [San Lorenzo], from the Mast head at daybreak. At 8 found ourselves close in. We worked round the Island and stood in for the anchorage at San Lorenzo, where we arrived and dropt anchor at 9 O'Clock at night on the 15<sup>th</sup>. The next morning we hove up and stood over to the anchorage at Callao, haveing made the passage in 8 days. The sails were then furled, boats hoisted out, and yards squared, the light sails unbent and stowed below. We then commenced watering and taking in provisions.

### CALLAO, PERU

On our arrival found the U. S. Ship St. Louis, Store Ship Relief, and Schooner Shark,<sup>21</sup> H. B. M. Frigate Dublin,<sup>22</sup> "a 74 razeed," and French Frigate Thetis.<sup>23</sup> The Peruvian Flag was hoisted at the Fore and a national salute of 21 Guns fired. We also exchanged salutes with the English & French Vessels of War.

Callao is the seaport of Lima. It is well fortified with two large Castles, built after the Moorish style and mounting 200 guns, besides a small fort near the waters edge, now building, to Mount 20 Guns. The Town has a population of 5,000, who are principly engaged as custom house Officers, keepers of Cigar & Dram Shops, Boatmen, fishermen, and Muleteers.<sup>24</sup>

Lima, the Capital of Peru, is situated about 8 miles E. N. E. of Callao. Its Latitude is 12.°02′ S., Longi-



"PACIFIC SQUADRON: UNITED STATES, CYANE, ST. LOUIS, YORKTOWN, SHARK"



"A VIEW OF LIMA FROM MOUNT CHRISTOVAL [CRISTOBAL]"



tude 76.°58' W., with a population of 55,000. The City is built on the South side of the River Rimac. It is of a triangular form and surrounded by brick walls, flanked with bastions and entered by seven gates. The road leading thence from Callao runs in nearly a straight line, some parts of which are bordered with fields of Grain, Corn, & grass, and beautiful groves of Lemon and Orange trees. The vally watered by the Rimac is highly productive. All kinds of tropical fruits and vegetables are ever coming to maturity; blossoms and ripe fruit are to be seen on the same tree. It is impossible to look forth on this beautiful valley-on the one side defended by the lofty Andes and covered with eternal snow, and on the other washed by the ever dashing waters of the wide pacific-and not admire the taste of Pizzarro [Pizarro] in selecting this spot where to found a City, near the very place where, having by perfidy seized the person of the old Indian King, promising to liberate him on condition of his filling the room of his confinement with Gold, and, after it was done, cruelly putting him to death. He laid the foundation of Lima, January 18th., 153525 (more than 30 years before a single town was founded within the present limits of the United States, St. Augustine in Florida having been founded in 1565). The streets cross at right angles, dividing the City into squares of 450 feet. Through the middle of the principle streets runs a stream of water about 3 feet wide & 6 inches deep, which very much contributes to the health and clenliness of the City. Traditions say that Pizzarro would not let the streets correspond to the 4 points of the compass but [made them] run so obliquely that the walls of the houses would cast a shade Morning and

Evening. The Walls of the City are seven miles in circuit and from 18 to 24 feet in height. They were built in 1685 and are still in good preservation. The Royal Plaza or Square—in this as all other Spanish places—is the great place of resort for business, pleasure, religeous processions, and Military parades, &c. &c. In the center of the Plaza is a noble fountain, which has been running more than 200 years. It was formerly highly ornamented with silver figures of Lions and surmounted with a statue of fame, but has long since been plundered. The water now runs perpetually from the Mouths of 16 sea Lions of Brass; the statue of fame also surmounts it. With a fountain we usually associate Ideas of Beauty, Peace, life, and health; but, sad to relate, this fountain has been the scene of much bloodshed, and thousands for Political and Criminal Offences have on this spot been shot-several while we were here.

On the East side of the Plaza stands the Grand Cathedral, founded by pizzarro the same day he laid the foundations of the City. It presents a noble and commanding front of 186 feet and runs back 320 feet. It is entered by three spacious doorways. It is surmounted by two lofty towers, rising 200 feet, overlooking City and Country, the belfries of which may be said almost litterally to be filled with bells, the largest of which weighs 31,000 lbs. The interior of the building is very grand and imposing. The painting, carving, gilding, and decorations are rich and magnificent and must have been much admired ages ago. A number of Colums, rich in curious workmanship, rising from 50 to 75 feet to support the roof. The alter is

richly decorated with Gold, Silver, Jewels, and gorgeous drapery. On every side Images of saints and Magnificent paintings arrest the attention. We were informed that during successive revollutions in the Country the Cathedral, as well as nearly every other Church in Lima, has been robbed of immense treasure in gold & silver. Our guide speaking english tolerable well proved a good introduction to a company of Young priests, who very politely conducted us through the more private apartments of the building. The room we first entered served for a schoolroom for the Young priesthood. Around its spacious walls hung a comple[te] set of portraits of all the arch Bishops of Peru from the establishment of the Catholic Church in the Country, more than three Centuries since, to the present time. We visited many of the Churches and found them all richly decorated with paintings. The richest and best were those of Saint Pedro [San Pedro] and Saint Mercidas [Santa Mercedes]. We attended Mass Morning and evening at the Cathedral. One custom we noticed was striking and becoming: the rich and poor, Black & White, bond and free knelt side by side offering up their devotions. The interior of the Churches are not divided into pews as with us, but each person brings a mat, skin, or small cushion to kneel on with them.

On the North side of the Plaza stands the Palace of Pizzarro, which occupies nearly an entire square. The building surrounds a garden with white gravelly walks, with several fountains, the whole beautifully shaded with the Orange, Fig, Cherimoya, and other tropical trees. The Cherimoya is certainly the most delicious

fruit I have ever tasted. It resembles the Pineapple something in shape; the colour is light green; the flavour is nearer strawberries and cream than anything else I can compare it to. But I was attempting to describe Pizzarro's palace. Our guide conducted us through the various appartments, formerly the repository of wealth and fashion, but revollutions have not spared this abode of the proud Viceroy of Spain. Most of the furniture has been removed, and it now serves as a barracks for soldiers, and several of its rooms are occupied by the Officers of the Republican Government. But, alas for republican Principles in Peru! Every election since the Revolution of San Martin in 182126 has been followed by an insurrection. At the present time every thing relating to Government is in a revolutionary state, and an engagement was expected to take place hourerly. Chilian soldiers are arriving daily to take the side of the highest bidder. Bands of Mountaineers infest the public Roads, but there is not sufficient public spirit to cause their arrest.27

We proceeded from the palace to the Museum. The principle object worthy attention is the collection of Historical Portraits of all the Viceroys of Peru from the time of Pizarro down to the Revolution under San Martin & Bolivar [Simón Bolívar]. The next was a group of Mummys in different postures. We also visited the Library which was established by San Martin, August 21<sup>st.,</sup> 1821. It contains about 20,000 volumes. They are arrainged in Chapters, one Chapter upon each of the following Countries: America, England, France, Spain, and Italy. Many of these book[s] were taken from the various Convents and Churches by or-

der of San Martin. There are numberless paintings and piles of old manuscrips, a great many written on parchment. We then retired to our Fundi and partook of an excellent supper provided by Mine host of the Golden Ball.<sup>28</sup>

Earthquakes are quite frequent. The Most destructive, however, was that of 1746, when Callao was entirely destroyed. Never was any destruction more complete, not more than one Individual of 3,000 Inhabitants being left to record this dreadful calamity, and he by a providence the most singular and extraordinary. He happened to be on a fort which overlooked the sea. He perceived in a minute the inhabitants running in the greatest terror and confusion, the sea as usual on such occasions receeding to a considerable distance and returning in Mountainous waves, foaming with agitation and burying forever the helpless inhabitants in its ravenous bosom; but the same waves which destroyed the town drove a small boat by the place where this man stood, into which he threw himself and was saved (so at least says tradition). The entire City of Buenovista [Buenavista] was at the same time destroyed, with the exception of a Catholic Chapel. The ruins of the City are still to be seen, and the Chapel is in a good state of preservation.

On the 31<sup>st.</sup> of May having recruited ourselves after so long a passage, we again weighed anchor, and made sail for Valparaiso.<sup>29</sup> On the 21<sup>st.</sup> of June we made the Harbour, got up a range of Cable, bent it, and got the anchor ready for letting go, when, alas, our expectations of coming to an anchor that evening were blasted,

for the Land breezes set out strong and at length arose to a complete gale which drove us again to sea. The next afternoon we again steered for land and let go in Valparaiso on the 24<sup>th.</sup> On the 29<sup>th.</sup> we experienced a Norther, which are always attended with so much danger in this port; let go both bower anchors, and got up a range of sheet Cable, and bent the sheets ready to let go if found necessary, sent down topgallant, topsail, and lower yards, housed topgallant masts & rigging, and rigged in the flying jib boom—a very heavy sea on and the Gun Deck completely afloat. On the 1<sup>st.</sup> of July we again weighed and proceeded to Sea, bound to Coquimbo, where we arrived the 3<sup>d.</sup>

### COQUIMBO, CHILI

On the Morning of July 2<sup>d</sup> at 2.30 one of the Most brilliant Meteors I ever saw passed over the firmament from East to West. It commenced shooting at an angle of 45°, rapidly passing over the firmament and sinking below the Horizon in the far west. The body appeared as large as a star of the 1st. Magnitude, and, while passing over, rendered everything as distinct as midday, Coquimbo Point, distant 10 miles, and Coast being seen distinctly, though the night was very dark. We came to an anchor in the afternoon of the 2d. and commenced giving the Ship a thorough overhauling, painted her, and gave the rigging and sails all necessary repairs. On the 3<sup>d</sup> sent one Quarter watch on shore for 48 hours. They were mostly off that week, then another Quarter watch was sent, and so on untill the whole Ships Company had liberty. On the 26th. they had all come on board who intended to come. 30

Coquimbo is situated in the Republic of Chili, Lat 29.°56′ S., Long 71.°19′ W. The climate and productions are pretty much the same as Valparaiso. The port is a very miserable and squalid looking place. The Custom house is the only building in the place, and a very ordinary one it is. The people live in small huts built of reeds and chinked in with mud. They are all fishermen, and their canoes or Baltzas [balsas] are the best in the world for riding the surf. They are constructed of two Bulls Hides blown up and lashed together, on the center of which they sit, and with a single paddle they propell them over the water with great swiftness and dexterity.

The Town of Serena is about 9 miles distant from the Port. There are some very old and antiquated buildings here, particularly Churches. The dates on the two that I visited were 1626 & 1684, the former of which is nearly in ruins although they still attend di-vine Worship in it. There are some new ones which cannot be excelled in beauty or decorations. The town is laid out irregularly, and the streets are not kept as clean as they might be. The houses are mostly built of reeds and plastered outside and in with mud and thatched with a sort of Cior[?] grass. There is but one English Hotel in the Place, the proprietor of which was very obliging both to the Officers and Men. We visited the Copper mines a few miles inland from Serena and were very much pleased. They are worked mostly by the English and yield great Quantities of Ore. We wished to visit the gold mines, but our time would not permit of it. There are several English and American families residing here, to whom we were introduced. Being in a foreign Land, thousands of miles from our Native Land and friends, and falling in with persons speaking the same language, it was indeed a gratification so unlooked for that nine days flew by without us scarcely perceiving it. The fact is that we were so much taken up with their society that we attended to little else, and the old Ship looked meloncholly indeed when we had to return on board for one or two months without putting foot on terra firma. Like most places on the Coast it is completely overrun with fleas. 31 The inhabitants do not mind them, but wo! to the poor stranger who expects to get a few hours rest after the fatigues of the day. He "turns in" on his mats, and, if he remains there an hour, it is because he finds it impossible to get out of the house. After staying on shore a few days, a person would suppose, one would get accustomed to them, but no! They were the cause of many coming back to the Ship long ere his liberty was out or his money half spent. But enough of Coauimbo.

#### CALLAO, PERU

On the last day of July we again got underweigh and stood out to sea with all canvass spread and a fine breeze, which continued untill the 7<sup>th</sup> of August, when we once more made the desolate Island of Saint Lorenzo and from there stood over to the anchorage of Callao, where we laid in Peace & Quietness untill the 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> of September, when Madam Rumour said that "war" was declared between the United States and Mexico. And what made suspicion ripe was Jno. Bulls Squadron getting underweigh "with the exception of the admiral's Ship" and proceeding to sea under sealed

Orders. Comm<sup>o</sup> Jones, thinking there was something wrong, went to Lima to consult with the U. S. Minister. He intstantly returned on board, gave orders to weigh the Anchor, and made signal to the Yorktown, Cyane, D[ale],<sup>32</sup> and Schooner Shark to do the same. In half an hour the Squadron was [under]weigh and stood to the N. W.

# [Monterey]33

A thousand conjectures were affoat concerning ou[r port] of destination. On the 16th we have to and received a quantity of Bar Iron, Pi[cks, Axes?], and spades from the Cyane & Dale and again made sail. One hundred m[en were] then picked from the Ships Company and drilled daily with muskets and pr[actised at] target shooting, the object being a bottle or a box suspended from the For[etopmast?], untill they became perfect masters of their Weapons. The crew were also [exercised at] the great Guns, and, when we experienced calms, the crew were practised in [firing] "at a mark"-two whiskey Barrells lashed together and a flag staff erected [between them], and then dropt about one or one and a half[?] 34 from the Ship, and, after discharg[ing] 100 Balls at them, made all drawing sail on our course. We also experiment[ed with] Paxhan [Paixhans] Shot.

On the 23<sup>d</sup> of September all hands were called aft, when the C[ommodore] addressed the Ships Company and told them the Mission he was on. H[e said that] the rumour he had heard in Callao justified him in the step h[e was about] to take. He said that the Californians were dissatisfied with the [present govern]-

ment which they were under and wanted to be under either th [e American] or English Flag, and that his intention was to take the forts on [?] <sup>35</sup> Land, and, after taking possession, the Californians would join us. We would then defy Mexico. He also said in taking or after taking the town of Monterey ("that being his first point of attack"), no unnecessary cruelty should be used towards the inhabitants, and under no circumstances whatever should a female be molested or insulted, no private houses entered, or Public property damaged or plundered. Let the Fort and town make what resistance they would, taken they must be if he lost every man he had under his command; and, after carrying it, the Guns should be all turned inland to resist an attack if made from that quarter.

On the 18th of Oct. Land O! was sung out from the Mast head, and next Morning Point Pinos was close aboard. We hoisted English Colours, and a Barque standing out showed Mexican Colours; boarded her and sent on board Lieut. L. B. Avery<sup>36</sup> and a prise crew with orders to follow us into Port. She proved to be the Joven Guipcoanna [Guipúzcoana] with 90,000\$ on board, bound to Vera Cruz. On the 19th at 2.45 dropt our anchor, furled sails, hauled down the English and hoisted the Yankee Flag with a white at the Fore, and despatched [Captain] Jas. Armstrong Esq. and Mr. Lareintree [La Reintrie],37 the Commodores Secretary, on shore to demand the surrender of the Town & Fort from the Mexican Authorities. Towed the American Ship Fama [Fame] clear of our Battery, cleared away the larbd. Battery for action, loaded with grape and cannister, got a spring on the larbd. Cable,



"MONTFREY, CALIFORNIA [ AMERICAN OCCUPATION, OCTOBER 19, 1842 ]"



and planted a kedge S. S. E. to keep the larb<sup>d</sup>. Broadside to bear on the Town, and sent down Royal Yards. A Mexican Barque arrived. At 11.30 P.M. two Commissioners of the Mexican Government came on board with the Governors answer.

The following morning at 11.40 disembarked the Marines and storming parties of this Ship and the Cyane, hauled down the White Flag at the Fore, and at 12 our forces took possession of the Town and Fort of Monterey, [th]e Marines under Lieut G. W. Robbins38 having marched into the town and hoisted the Amer-[ica]n Flag on the barracks and Government House, Capt. C. K. Stribling<sup>39</sup> of the Cyane, Lieuts Dulany, 40 & [Aver]y at the head of the Sailors, armed with Muskets, Cutlasses, and a Brace of Pistols each. [Marc]hed to the Fort, hauled down the Mexican and ran up the Yankee flag, and [gave th] ree cheers. At 12.30 the Frigate saluted the Castle with 13 Guns; the Castle saluted [with 26] guns. At 12.47 the Cyane saluted with 13 Guns. Took possession of three Barques & [a brig] and Government Schooner, hoisted our flag on them, and sent prise masters & [men on] board of them; sent the Bags & hammocks of the Stormers and Marines on [shore, train]ed the guns of the Fort ("14") inland, and commenced throwing up a heavy [earthwo]rk back of the Fort. On the 21st. at 3.30 P.M. an express arrived from Mexico, by which [the Commoodore received satisfactory intelligence respecting the difficulties between the two [countri]es and consequently gave up the Fort and Town to their proper owners. Thus were [all ou]r visions of Prize Money (saying nothing about the honour) blasted in a few short hours, [our air-ca]stle building wafted away by the smoke of our own salutes of triumph (of Mexican [powder which h]ad to be returned). Thus ended this bloodless Battle, and all hands repaired [from the desert]ed field and mud-bound Castle to enjoy the comforts of Peace on Ship [board.]

[Monterey is si]tuated in Lat. 36.°38' N., Long [121.°53'] West. It is a safe and commodious harbour, [having a con]siderable trade in Hides and tallow. The Scenery of Monterey is truly grand and beautiful. Here is a boundless landscape, covered with natures greenest carpet, over which herds of Horses, Buffalo, Deer, and other cattle almost without number move and bound in every direction. Bears are very numerous, and wild fowl and small game in abundance. The Land is Mountainous and intersperced with rich valleys and small lakes where fish of almost every description abound. The Inhabitants subsist entirely by hunting and Fishing. The women are compelled to cultivate the soil and attend mostly to the wants of a family, while the husband lives at perfect ease in idleness and debaunchery. They are very jealous and selfish in their dispositions, for which they have good cause, as they will sacrifice anything and everything for a finger ring, Breastpin, or carving, or gewgaws of any description. Murders are of Common occurrence, as their is little or no law. Marriages are uncommon. They are splendid horsemen and never think of walking even if they have but a 100 yards to go. They are also very expert with the lasso. We lay at anchor in this Port 33 days, being three days longer than at any previous port we have visited since leaving the United States.41

Nov. 23<sup>d.</sup> we got underweigh and stood out. The wind dving, we were compelled to drop our anchor. A light breeze springing up, we again got underweigh, and so on untill we had dropt anchor nine different times. We at last succeeded in getting clear of the land, and, a strong breeze from the S. W. springing up, we were soon wafted out of sight of the dull but enchanting shore and towards the delightful and far famed Sandwich Islands, of which I have read so much and listened with such avidity to the Yarns of Old Seamen who have spent Years among them. We had a remarkable short passage of 12 days, during which time we sailed over twenty two hundred miles. Our object in coming to this Port was to obtain provisions for the Squadron left at Monterey, with which we soon filled up and again started to Monterey, where we arrived without accident on the 24th. December, finding things very much as we had left them. 42

# [MAZATLAN, MEXICO]

On the 10<sup>th</sup> of January we again sailed and stood to the S. W., and after a disagreeable passage of 11 days dropt anchor in the Port of Mazatlan, where we found the Yorktown and HBM Sloop of War Champion, Commander Byron. On the 22<sup>d</sup> of Feb. the Commodore gave a splendid dinner to the Officers of HBM Ship Champion, Sloops of War Cyane & Yorktown, with a number of invited guests from shore. Everything passed off remarkably well untill the shades of evening began to close in, when every negro in the Ship was called aft and Mounted on the Poop in Company with the Commodore, Captain, and the Officers of the Champion, and the different Consuls from shore, "part of

our own having retired in disgust;" and the whole of them amused themselves with patting juba and dancing breakdowns with the darkies and singing negro songs, the Commodore and French Consul trying which could outdo the other. The First Lieutenant of the Champion also made himself very conspicuous. Captain A. [Armstrong] 43 was in high glee but was lifted to his Cabin, being too fatigued to walk without support. Mr. L. [Lockwood] 44 commenced an Oration to the Men "on the blessings of Liberty," but was so overpowered with Patriotism (or wine) that he sunk exhausted, and in that state was carried to his state room, and, when he revived, complained of a dreadfull headache. During the jollification the corpse of Wm B Bradley was laid out under the half deck, but he disturbed not their midnight revels, or did he in the least mar their enjoyment, although in sight.45

On the morning of the 24<sup>th</sup> the Champion got underweigh and proceeded to sea, but in the afternoon again stood in, Commander Byron having departed this life shortly after getting underweigh. He was followed to that bourne from whence no traveller returns, far from Country, family, and friends in a distant land and among strangers, by the Officers of this Frigate, the Cyane, & Champion, the Consuls of different nations, and a few of his own countrymen who reside here. Minute guns were fired by the Vessels of War from the time the corpse left the Ship untill its arrival at the Grave. Three vollys were fired by the English and American Marines. The procession then marched to the Mole and returned on board their respective Ships.<sup>46</sup>



"TEATRO ALFIGRA [ALEGRÍA, MAZATLÁN, MEXICO]"



"CACHUCHA IN PERU"



Mazatlan is situated in Latitude [23.°10′ N.], Long [106.°30′] West. It is large and well laid out. The houses generally are built of Stone, two stories high. The principle buildings are the Custom house, Government House, and one very large Convent. There are several Churches, all of which are magnificently and richly decorated. Every other day is a feast day of some kind or another, when business of all kinds is suspended, and processions of Priests of different Orders parade the streets, followed by at least two thirds of the population. Bull baiting, Cock fighting, & bear baiting, and gambling of every description is carried on to an excess both by the Aristocracy, priesthood, and Lower orders. The people generally are treacherous.

On the last day of February we again got underweigh for Sea, having spent thirty eight days in this Port. We discovered a Comet<sup>47</sup> near the Sun on the 4<sup>th.</sup> of March, which continued to be seen untill the 29<sup>th.</sup> On the night of the 6<sup>th.</sup> it appeared at first dimly but gradually brightened to effulgence. By measurement it proved to be 40° Easterly, towards the constellation Canis Major. The body was as bright as a star of the first magnitude and about 8° in altitude in a S. E. direction. With a moderate breeze we continued on our passage, bound to Valparaiso.

On the 10<sup>th</sup> of March the wind became quite baffling and light and at length settled to a dead calm. Our passage likely to be a long one and our provisions getting short, the men were put on an allowance of 10 rations for 16 men. We continued in this situation untill the 13<sup>th</sup> of April, when, the hold being broken out in

search of more provisions, to our great disappointment we found less than we expected, our whole stock of provisions on hand being 10 Bbls of Beef, & 9 of Pork, and quite a small quantity of Bread. At this time we were 1400 miles from any Land, with 500 souls on board, with calms and light head winds. Fortunately we had an abundance of water, though a little brackish. This was a trying time, and there was no telling what our sufferings might have been had not a kind providence favoured us with a breeze, which carried us safely into Valparaiso on the 27<sup>th</sup> of April.

We found HBM Frigate Dublin, and French Frigate La Reine Blanche, 48 & U. S. Ship Yorktown, who saluted us with 13 guns, which we returned with an equal number. On the 4th of May the Yorktown weighed her anchor and stood out to sea bound home.49 The Ships Company were sent on liberty, and, while carousing and merrymaking on shore, all thoughts of the privations they had suffered on the passage from Mazatlan were forgotten in their present uncontrolled enjoyments. On the 21st. of May our anchor was again weighed and our canvass once more spread to the gentle breezes of heaven, which are wafting us rapidly toward our port of destination, Callao. On the 8th. of June we come to and shortly after received news that Comº. Dallass<sup>50</sup> had arrived in Valparaiso in the Sloop of War Erie. Immediately everything was in readiness for sea. We stood out, bound to some of the fairey Islands of [the] Great Pacific, Commo. Jones appearing determined not to resign the Station untill he had visited the groups which he had not heard from since his former visit to them in 1825.51

## OWHYHEE [Hawaii], Sandwich Islands 52

Accordingly, on the 21<sup>st.</sup> of June we weighed and made sail and after a pleasant passage of 32 days arrived at this delightful Island. On making the Island, we stood in for the Eastern end and coasted down abreast of the Bay, heaving to about 10 miles dist. for the Pilot. The best land mark for this place is an extinct Volcano, which, being covered with verdure, is called *Green Hill*. The huts on the N° side of water fall creek, in a line with the E. side of this hill, is the mark for standing in. Clear of the bank on a S. S. W. compass course, Coconut Island East and the crater S. W. by S., is the best anchorage. There is a good channel for boats into waterfall creek, surf breaking on either hand. The wood & water obtained here is very good, the water being the best we have ever had.<sup>53</sup>

The Ship was surrounded with the canoes of the natives, laden with fruits, vegetables, and poultry, which could be purchased for a mere nothing. An old knife or about an ounce of tobacco could get a fine pair of Chickens or as much fruit as would be conveniant to carry. The appearance of the natives appeared strange to the eve of one who had for the first time visited these Islands. The natives go in a state of nudity with the exception of a garment which is very small, merely strung about the Loins to support a fold of native cloth worn perpendicularly between the limbs, which they call a Maurau [malo, or maro]. They are stout, complexion olive, and their features regular, with a liberal tattoo on all their limbs. Their general appearance on the whole is prepossessing. The scenery of this Island has attracted the attention of every one who has chanced to visit it, and to one who enjoys nature in her primeval granduer there is no spot he could chose so imposing and singularly beautiful, none so rich in variety of Mountains, hills, groves, and valleys, none that will take so deep a hold on the imagination or awaken sensations of admiration more than the Island of Owhyhee.

It was on this Island that the unfortunate Captain Cook lost his life. The spot is still pointed out by the natives to the curious. There is a rough tomb erected over the few bones that could be collected from the natives. The Temain the ruins of an ancient temple mentioned by Cook, where his observatory was erected. The remaining walls, 100 feet long & 15 high, are still standing; and the space within is strewed with human and animal bones, the relics of sacrifices once offered to their gods, and which present to the mind a scene truly affecting.

The Village of Waiakia [Waiakia Wharf, near Hilo] from our anchorage, "Byrons Bay, so named by Lord Byron, 55 who commanded the Blondé [Blonde] Frigate in 1825, and who surveyed this Bay," is truly romantic and beautiful, a fine sandy beach stretching along the margin of the sea for a considerable distance, the back ground adorned with clumps of Kou [Koa] trees or waving groves of Coconuts. The level land of the whole district for about 5 miles is one continued Garden, laid out in patches of 15 rods square and ditched, planted with Bannana's, Pineapples, tarra, Mellons, and tappah trees, beside sugar cane, which flourishes luxuriously in every direction. The lowly cottage of the native is seen peeping through the leaves of the

luxuriant plantain and banana trees, and in every direction white colums of smoke ascend, curling up from the wide branches of the bread fruit. The sloping hills immediately behind and the lofty mountains in the interior, clothed with verdure to their very summits, intersected by deep and dark ravines or divided by winding valleys, terminate this delightful prospect.

The inhabitants do everything in their power to please and are extremely cortuous and obliging to strangers. Every day while laying here, females from 5 to 25 years of age are at the ships side, swimming round and diving for anything and everything that would be thrown into the water to them-pieces of Coin, Brass Buttons, k[n]ives, small pieces of copper &c., &c. which they would invariable bring up and show to the one that threw it. Four times while laving here all hands were piped to swim, and it must have been an odd sight to them, between four & five hundred men diving from the Poop, Gangways, Chains, Jib Boom, and spritsail vard simultaneously in the Water. Some of them were very much frightened and made for shore, but, when they discovered our sport, they returned but appeared shy and continued swimming round untill the shades of evening closed in, when they returned on shore.

During our stay here the Surgeon<sup>56</sup> [and] Proff of Mathematicks formed a party for a visit to the great Crater of *Kerranea* [Kilauea],<sup>57</sup> distant about 30 miles, which is one of the most sublime in the world. It stands in the midst of a large plain ten or twelve miles in circumferance and sunk from two to four hundred feet below its original level. The surface is strewed with

Volcanic rocks and Lava. It requires great caution to descend into this valley or plain, which in several places sounds hollow under feet; and, after walking a considerable distance, you come suddenly to the edge of the great crater, where a sight sublime and appalling presents itself. An enormous chasm in shape of a crescent, upwards of two miles in length, a mile across, and about 800 feet deep, the bottom filled with lava, and the S. W. and Northern extremitys were one vast flood of liquid fire in a state of terrific ebulition, rolling to & fro its firey surge and flaming billows; a number of craters of various forms and sizes [rose] like so many conical Islands from the surface of the burning lake, 16 or 18 constantly emitting colums of grey smoke or pyremids of brilliant flame, and many of them at the same time vomiting forth streams of liquid lava from their ignited mouths and rolling in torrents down their black and indented sides into the burning mass below. The dark bold outline of the jutting rocks around formed a striking contrast with the luminous lake below, whose vivid rays, thrown on the rugged rocks and reflected by the overhanging clouds, confirmed to complete the awfull granduer of this imposing scene. We returned after an absence of five days, having been fully recompensed for the fatigue and exposure. Specimens were brought on board which we collected in the immediate vicinity of the crater, a great many actually in a heated state. 58

## [Honolulu], Oahu, Sandwich Islands<sup>59</sup>

On the 2<sup>d</sup> of August we got underweigh and stood to sea, bound to Lahania [Lahaina], having heard that the King, Kamahamaha [Kamehameha] III, was at that



"VIEW OF HONOLULU [AUGUST, 1843]"



time on a visit to that Island. The day following we stood into the harbour. Before droping our anchor, we were boarded by a whale Boat and received intelligence that the Frigate Constellation was laying at Oahu, and that the King was at that Island. We accordingly tacked Ship and run down between the Islands of Morokai [Molokai] and Ranai [Lanai] and dropt our anchor in Oahu, having made the run from Lahainia [Lahaina] in six hours, the distance being between 70 & 80 miles. We found the Constellation at anchor, having had an excellent passage from Macoa, East Indies, and bound home. In the afternoon the Cyane arrived.

On our arrival we found that the King had made a concession of the Sandwich Group to Lord George Paullette [Paulet], commanding the Carysfort, he having hauled his Ship in abreast of the Town and threatened to commence a bombardment at 12 O'Clock that day if his terms were not complied with. The King accordingly made concession to save the Town. Admiral Thomas, commanding H. B. M. Squadron in the Pacific, having arrived a few days after, put a veto on Captain Paullettes proceedings and again put the Government in the hands of the King, its rightful owner.<sup>60</sup>

On the 13<sup>th</sup> of August the King and Royal Family visited the Ship in Company with Admiral Thomas, Comm<sup>o</sup> Kearney of the Constellation, Capt. Stribling of the Cyane, and his principle Officers of State. The Yards were manned and a national salute fired on his arrival and departure from the Ship, having partaken of a sumptuous Dinner provided for him by Comm<sup>o</sup>

Jones on his regaining his Government. At 5 he embarked on board his pleasure Yacht, Hoikaii, and stood to sea, accompanied by the Constellation, Commo. Kearney, he having weighed anchor to escort him to the Island of Owhyhee. The King, Kamahamaha III, appeared to be a man about 28 Years of age, of a coloured complexion, and about 6 feet I inch in height, rather stout, and remarkable dignified and easey in his manners. He was dressed in full uniform, a handsome Blue Cloth Coat faced with red and splendidly worked with gold threads, Buff cassimere Pants, a cocked hat, & a pair of very large and handsome Gold Epaullettes, and a sword—the whole presented to him by Victoria, Queen of England. His Officers were all very stout and fine looking men. His two aids de Camp were dressed as Lieutenants of the Navy.61

The Town of Honolulu is the principle one of the Island of Oahu and is not only the Capital but is the principle residence of the King. It is regularly laid out. The houses are constructed of reeds and thatched with a kind of cior[?] grass. The appearance of the Town is rendered cheerless, being almost entirely without trees, although it is quite different on the suberbs, the houses being enclosed with Plantains, Breadfruit, and Coconut Trees. The population of this Town is supposed to be between 6 & 7,000, of which number there are a great many foreigners, chiefly Americans engaged in trade. 62 The natives, as far as their means will allow, ape the costume of foreignors, so that the street scenes in this place are as various as they are grotesque. For instance, some you see entirely in a state of nudity with the exception of a Maurau [Malo] girt



"ROUNDING N. W. POINT OF MOLOKAI [SANDWICH ISLANDS]"



"VALLEY OF PALI [NEAR HONOLULU]"



around the Loins; others in addition to this will add an old Cast off Coat, Vest, pants, or shirt, or even an old hat, and with either one of these articles consider themselves in full dress. The women generally wear a loose slip or gown with a drawing string at the throat and short sleeves, and are very expert and particularly fond of stringing flowers, shells, and the gaudy feathers of Birds into necklaces, garlands for the head, arms, and ancles. Very few, however, will encumber their feet with shoes or stockings, but at the same time display well tattooed ancles and——[sic]. Their complexion is olive, and their general appearance agreeable.

There are several schools for the instruction of native children of both sexes. The Bible and a number of school Books have been translated into the Hawaiian tongue. There is also a school for Young Ladies (native) conducted by an American Lady of Boston, 63 and it was certainly a pleasure to look on them, they appeared so absorbed in the desire to learn; & their teacher seems animated by the noble Idea that she is working for the advancement of the civilization and religeous instruction of those who but a few years ago were steeped in Idolitary and Cannibalism and k[n]ew nothing of civilization and its blessings, but through the instrumentality of Missionarys from the United States have resigned their Idols and now appear anxious to serve the Christians God. They are making rapid progress in civilization and refinement, and they look with enthusiastic interest upon their flourishing schools.64

On the 20th day of August we again weighed anchor and proceeded to Sea with a fine Breeze, standing to

the S<sup>d.</sup> & W<sup>d.</sup> On the 17<sup>th.</sup> of September, being within 6 miles of the shoal on arrowsmiths Chart, got a cast of the lead with 200 fathoms but no bottom. We continued cruising about all day, and, had there been a shoal within 7 miles of us that day, it could not have been passed unnoticed. So many have searched in vain for this alleged shoal that its existence can now hardly be thought possible. On the 18<sup>th.</sup> we continued our course. 23<sup>d.</sup> all hands were called to "bury the Dead". The body of "Conly Daugherty" were then brought to the Gangway by his Messmates, and, after the funeral Service being read by the Rev<sup>d.</sup> Mr. Bartow, his remains were committed to the deep.

October 4th. at 5.22 A.M. the appalling cry of Man overboard was sung out from the cat head. The life Bouys were instantly cut away. The Ship hove to, the Barge & 4th. Cutters lashing out, a strong breeze from S. S. E. at the time and a heavy sea running. In an instant all was commotion. The boats being manned, "Lower!" exclaimed the Officer. The Barge fell to the water and drifted rapidly astern. I thought it impossible for her to live in such a sea, but the man who held the helm was a skillfull seaman and brought the head of the gallant boat on to each high sea that would otherwise have sunk her. The 4th. Cutter followed her with equal success. They continued the search untill 8 O'Clock, when the Cornet was hoisted for their recall to the ship. Fresh crews were then put in and sent in search but of no avail, not finding the life bouys, as he must have sunk or been devoured by the sharks, as a number were seen playing round the ship. Tacked repeatedly to keep our position with

the boats. At 10.45, all search proving ineffectual, picked up the boats and made all sail on our course. From the report of the Man on the look at the cat head it appears that David Black, "Cooper," was in the head towing his hammock and, having tied the 4 corners of it singly with lanyards, threw it over the water. [Water?] instantly caught in the Bag, which jerked him into the sea. When making the life Bouys a few weeks before, he was told that they leaked. His answer was, "If a man cannot save himself with these, he ought to drown." Poor fellow, he little thought he would have the first chance at them. 66

## Nukahiva, Marquesas Islands<sup>67</sup>

On the 6th of October at 2.30 P.M. hove to off the Harbour [Anna Maria Bay], fired a gun, and hoisted the Jack for a Pilot. At 3 Pilot came on board, filled away, and made sail standing in. At 3.30 shortened sail and came to with larb anchor in 14 fathoms water. The view of this steep and lofty Island is truly sublime and beautiful. It is completely covered with bright verdure & enlivened with numerous huts. Found the French Frigate La Reine Blanche, 67 & Dephane, two transports, and a Barque. The French are building a Fort on the site of Old Fort Monroe [Fort Madison] of Essex Memory<sup>68</sup> and are peopleing the Island with convicts, whose tents are pitched in the vacinity of the Fort. They number about 400. The inhabitants are cannibals and are tattooed from head to foot and go entirely in a state of nudity. Tipee Bay,69 about 6 miles to leeward of where we lay, is equally as safe as an anchorage, the Inhabitants of which are at contin[u]al war with the neighbouring tribes. Their weapons consist of spears set with sharks teeth and clubs made of a very heavy wood. The Island abounds with tropical fruits of every description, the soil a dark rich loam and highly productive. During our visit the King & Queen visited the Ship, he being dressed in a French uniform given him by the French Admiral, and she in a red skirt which reached a few inches below the knee, about 15 years of age, with handsome features, and tattooed on all visible parts. 70

On the N. E. end of this Island is a remarkable rock, called tower rock from its resemblance to the ruins of a Moorish watch tower. On the eastern end of the cliff, next to Anne Maria [Anna Maria or Taiohaë] Bay, is a narrow white streak from the summit to the bottom of the rock, resembling at a little distance a stream of water. This is on the right hand side of the entrance going in and is a good land mark. On each side of the entrance is a small Island (the western being the most conical). These are termed the sentinels, and there is good anchorage just inside of them in 30 fathoms water, soft bottom. The entrance of the Harbour is not preceptible untill nearly abreast of the Sentinels, the eastern one of which [is] shaved close on entering, immediately after which the sea breeze is lost, and vessels usually anchor or are towed in by boats, although we caught the sea breeze and carried it to the inner harbour.

After laying at anchor 33 hours, we weighed and were towed out by the French boats.<sup>71</sup> 30 miles to the E<sup>d</sup> of Nukahiva is the Island of Uhuga [Fetu-hugo], about 6 miles long, bold and rocky, with an Isolated Peak

on the Southern Side. The Eastern shores appear Barren in the extreme, but on the Southern & Western slopes were covered with verdure. There is a fine Bay on the same side. We passed the Southern end with a fine steady trade wind. Directly South of Anne Maria Bay is the Island of Rouapoa [Roa-Pua], a large Island with several sharp pinnacles like the steeples of a Church, distinctly visible in clear weather 30 miles Distant. We stood S. S. W., passing to the W<sup>4</sup> of it on our way to

### TAHITI72

where we arrived the 12th of October. The appearance of the Island is prepossessing. The lofty precipices are bold and striking, the valleys verdant and picturesque. Immediately our anchor was dropt, we were surrounded with the canoes of the natives, which, being the first of the Tahitian race we had seen, we were struck with their gigantic proportions, for the smallest of which was at least 6 feet. Their costume is becoming and appropriate to the climate, being a long white shirt over loose white trowsers, which seldom reach below the knee. Many wear no pants but supply the deficientcy by superior length of shirt and a liberal tattoo on the nether extremities. The women wear calico gowns, a wreath of flowers or evergreens around the head, and a free application of tattoo on all visible parts. Their features generaly are small, regular, and handsome. Their huts are constructed of Bamboo poles driven upright in the ground and surrounded by a thatch of Palm leaves. The poles not being connected, all parts of the house can be seen from the outside, so that there exists no privacy whatever.

A visitor to these Islands will find a great differance in the natives at the presant time from the time of Captain Cooks visiting them. Their intercourse with Europeans has nearly divested them of their former simplicity and artlessness. They no longer look on a white face with those mingled feelings of awe and pleasure, nor are they as ready to offer up their all to him as an offering to a superior being. They are no longer pleased with a rattle or tickled with a straw but understand the worthlessness of Toys as well as any down easter in Yankee land; but there exists a sad want of Industry, kindly affections, and domestic love, and other virtues which tend to make families happy and nations prosperous.

During our stay we had sea breezes from the N<sup>d</sup>. & E<sup>d</sup>. during the day and at night variable airs and generally clear pleasant weather. The atmosphere was so clear that the summits of the Island were seen at the distance of 45 miles. 8 or 9 miles to leeward of Matavia [Matavai] is the harbour of Papeite [Papéiti],74 which is the Capital of the Island. HBM Ship Dublin, French Frigate Thetis, and several Merchantmen & Whalers are at anchor in side the reefs, the channel through which is somewhat intricate. Our stay being short and Matavai being of easy access, it was selected for our anchorage. The Pilot, "a native," would not take the Ship in after dark on account of the Dolphin shoal, which occupies a portion of the Bay. Pigs, Poultry, vegetables, and all the tropical fruits and wyhines [vahinees] 76 were found in abundence. We watered Ship from a small spring that issued from the hill side next to one tree hill, which is a bluff on the south side

of the bay with a soil of reddish colour exposed in some places, forming a good land mark for the anchorage. Opposite this on the North side of the bay is a low point of land covered with Coconut Trees, being the Point Venus immortalized by the observations of Captain Cook. Directly west of Matavai Bay is the Island of Imeo [Eimeo], distant about 10 miles. This Island is high and is [c] overed with verdure in the Valleys but somewhat rocky and barren on the Northern side. This Island [Tahiti] is situated in Lat. 17.°19′ S., Longitude 149.°36′ W. and is the largest Island of the Society Group.

This and the adjoining Island of Imeo are under the Jurisdiction of Queen Pomaré. She is about 32 years of age, of good personal appearance, and is represented as superior in morals and intellect to any of her contemporarys of the adjoining Islands. At present she is an exemplary member of the Christian Church. On the 19<sup>th</sup> of October the Royal Consort of the Queen, with his suit, visited the Ship. He is about 45 years of age, very stout, and speaks english remarkable well, and very polite in his manners. He was dressed in a military undress. On his departure saluted him with 13 guns.

The beauty of the climate and liberality of the Inhabitants has induced many a man to forsake his ship and by this means secure to himself a luxurious abode without work, remote from Country, fireside, and friends. There are several Americans at present on this Island with large families, who would not return to the United States under any consideration whatever. 80 The pop-

ulation of Tahiti is 8,000, that of Imeo 1500. Oct. 19th. we again got underweigh and stood out from this Fairev Island which lies reposing on the bosom of the wide Pacific like some glittering gem on the brow of the beautiful. We coasted round the Island of Imeo in going to sea, this being considered preferable to the channel between Tahiti & Imeo, after passing which vessels are liable to be detained by calms and light baffling airs. We stood round the Western side of Imeo about 4 miles distant, passing a beautiful Bay and seve[r]al villages on its shores; but, in consequence of hauling to the Et to soon, [we] were becalmed most of the afternoon under the Southern side of the Island. Vessels leaving Tahiti would do well to run to the Sd. & Wd. 15 or 20 miles before hauling their wind, to avoid being becalmed. In the evening a fresh breeze springing up, we steered our course for Valparaiso.

# [JUAN FERNANDEZ]

On the 19<sup>th</sup> of November made the Island of Masafuera [Mas-A-Fuera], passed it very close in the afternoon, and next morning the famed Island of Juan Fernandez in sight ahead. We approached it rapidly and run close in, and I have seldom seen a more remarkable and picturesque view than it presented when seen from a short distance. The mountain of the Anvil, so called from its resemblance to a Blacksmith's Anvil, it appears conspicuously placed in the range of precipitous Mountains and is alone an object of interest. It rises 3,000 feet above a shore which is formed by an abrupt wall of dark coloured bare rock, eight or nine hundred feet in height, through whose wild ravines, broken by the Mountain torrent, caught a view of

verdant glades surrounded by luxuriant woodland. The higher parts of the Island are in general thickly wooded, but in some places there are grassy plains of considerable extent, whose lively colour contrasts agreably with the dark foliage of the Myrtle tree, which abounds on the Island. Alexander Selkirk<sup>81</sup> must have been a happy man when he was in this paradize and exclaimed, "I am Lord of all I survey; my right there is none to dispute." It is now occupied and rented by Don Joaquin Lorrain from the Governor of Chili, who has on it 40 men engaged in sealing and curing fish, which are dried, salted, & sent to different parts of Chili. But it is not the Character of the Chileni [Chileño] to take any trouble unless obliged, although his own comfort and advantage may be materially concerned. They therefore work but little. On the 21st. of November we come to in Valparaiso82 after the most agreable passage we have had since leaving home sweet home. We exchanged salutes with HBM Frigate Fisgard, and French Corvette Triomphanté, HBM Ship Modesté, and French Frigate La Lommé, and U. S. Frigate Constellation.

## [CALLAO, PERU]

On the 5<sup>th</sup> of December we weighed and laid our course for Callao, that land of foggs, Cherimoyas, and snakes, where we arrived the 15<sup>th</sup> without anything of interest occuring. On the 21<sup>st</sup> of January the Constellation sailed for *home*, having on board Commodore Jones, he having been recalled.<sup>83</sup> HBM Frigate Vindictive and this Frigate accompanied her out for the sake of trying the speed of the Vessels. It is unnecessary to say that the "Old Waggon" did her duty, dis-

tancing her competitors.<sup>84</sup> The next day stood back to Callao with light hearts, knowing it to be our turn next.

On the 30<sup>th</sup> of January the Sloop of War Levant arrived from Rio; and on the 17<sup>th</sup> of Feb. Commodore Alexander J. Dallas made his appearance in the Frigate Savannah<sup>85</sup> and on the 23<sup>d</sup> gave Capt. A. [Armstrong] orders to proceed to Mazatlan in this Ship for money for the Squadron. We accordingly sailed the day following and arrived there the 28<sup>th</sup> of March, where we lay untill the 16<sup>th</sup> of April, when we up anchor again for Callao.

On the 5th of June made the Island of San Lorenzo. In rounding the Point, we heard minute guns and perceived the coach Whip at the mast head of the Savannah. Upon coming to an anchor, we received the meloncholly intelligence that Commo. Alexander J. Dallas had departed this Life on the 3<sup>d</sup> of June, and [they?] were on shore attending his funeral when they made us out in the Offing. By his demise Captain Armstrong falls in Command of the Pacific Squadron untill he is relieved by the Navy Department.86 Commo. D. before his decease had ordered the Cyane, Capt. Stribling, to proceed home by way of the East Indies; but, not having sailed before our arrival, Capt. A. ordered her home per Cape Horn. She therefore got underweigh for home June 26th. Her Captain, C. K. Stribling esq., being older than Captain Holland, was put in command of this Ship; Capt. Holland, the Cyane; and Capt. Armstrong took command of the Savannah,87 and on the 6th. of July despatched us for Rio, 88 having

on board the Hon Mr. Lima, wife, and 5 children, he having been Chargé de' Affairés from Brazil to the Court of Peru.

## [CAPE HORN]

July 13<sup>th.</sup> we are making rapid head way for Cape Horn, having a stiff breeze & a heavy sea, the old Ship half burying herself at every plunge. On the morning of the 15th, it fell calm and continued so untill the afternoon, when the wind came out from the Sd. & Ed., which continued with moderate breezes untill the 25th., when the weather became very squally. On the same, Sail ho! was proclaimed from the Mast head, which proved to be the American Ship Natchez under Courses, topsails, topgallant sails, Royals, Skysails, Lower, topmast, topgallant & Royal Studdingsails, on both sides Jib a Jib, flying jib, Jib and Foretopmast staysail, Maintopmast, topgallant and Royal staysails, Fore & Main Spencers, Spanker & Gaff Topsail, Ringtail, and water sails—we being at the time under topgallant sails and singled reefed topsails. On the 28 blowing a gale, we lay too, under Main & Mizen staysails & Fore Storm Staysail, for 6 hours, not being able to carry sail. The wind abated and then shifted in our favour, and we were on our way once more towards Rio under all sail.89

### [RIO DE JANEIRO]

On the 16<sup>th</sup> of August made the Light House on Raza Island and run in the Harbour of Rio de Janeiro and dropt anchor, having a passage of 41 days and beating the U. S. Ship Cyane 7 days in the run from Port to Port. We found at anchor the U. S. Frigates Constitution, Congress, & Raritan, Cyane, Brig Bainbridge & Pioneer; HBM Frigates America & Alfred, & Brig

Dolphin; French Frigate L'Caine[?], a Dutch Steamer of War, and a number of Merchantmen of different nations.

We remained at anchor untill the 24th, when on signal from the Commo. we weighed and stood out in company with Congress, Raritan, Bainbridge, and French Sloop Coquette for a race. 90 On starting, the odds was 3 to 1 on the Raritan, she having been represented as a crack Ship on her keel. Got underweigh saturday at 5.45. At 12 the Bainbridge abeam, the others astern. At 4 the Bainbridge I mile ahead, others astern, wind very light. At midnight Raritan 1/2 mile astern & to leeward, Congress off the lee quarter hull down, Coquette out of sight astern, and Bainbridge just visible on weather Quarter. At 4 in the morning Raritan on wr. Quarter dist 4 miles, Bainbridge 1 mile on weather beam, Congress not in sight. At 8 Raritan astern distant 2 miles, Congress on lee beam dist 3 miles, Bainbridge on weather quarter 5 m. At 11 Bainbridge stood back to Port, Congress & Raritan on lee bow & beam dist 6 miles. On signal from the Commo stood down for them, run within hail, and hove to, at 3. At 3.30, having received the letter bags from the two Frigates, filled away, and stood to the Nd. & Wd. with a Royal breeze, which continued for several days.

## [Boston, Massachusetts]

On the morning of the 31<sup>st.</sup> of August discovered something having the appearance of a wreck, hauled up for her, and found her to be a small schooner with latteen sails laying to but wanting no assistance; bore up on our course and made all drawing sail. Weather continued squally and unpleasant. On the 3<sup>d.</sup> of Sept car-

ried away Jib Pendant. The same day discovered Land, bearing from N by W. to W by N., dist 20 miles; continued in sight untill the next evening. On the 5<sup>th</sup> & 6<sup>th</sup> & 7<sup>th</sup> carried a breeze from S<sup>d</sup> & E<sup>d</sup> from 10 to 12 knots per hour. On the 10<sup>th</sup> becalmed from 10 P.M. to 5 A.M. 12[th.] light variable airs and calm. 18th. heavy lightning and rain; under double reefed top-sails & reefed Fore sail. 19<sup>th</sup> called all hands and com-mitted the remains of Jno. M. Hopkins<sup>91</sup> to the deep. 20<sup>th.</sup> discovered a Barque 4 Points on lee bow. On the 21<sup>st.</sup> made two sail to leeward. 28<sup>th.</sup> hauled our wind to speak a Brig on weather beam. She tacked, and we fired the bow chaser to heave her to. Hove our Maintopsail to the mast, & boarded the Am. Brig Cordelia, 7 days from Boston. Boat returned, filled away, and made all sail before the wind. 29<sup>th.</sup> very heavy weather; sent down Royal Yards, carried away M. T. M. Steering sail boom, set Storm Staysails, close reefed topsails & Courses; discovered our wheel ropes to be defective; rove new ones. During the 30[th.] fresh gales. At 10 P.M. supposed the Ship to be inside the Gulph [Gulf Stream] by the great difference in the temperature of the water. Oct I got soundings from 14 to 40 fths. On the 2<sup>d</sup> discovered a number of Cape Cod fishing sloops; sent a boat for a Mess of fresh Cod. On the 3<sup>d</sup> made Land. The beautiful and new Pilot Boat, Sylph, Captain Lock, boarded us and took charge of the Ship, who hove us to to wait for the tide. At 2.15 made all sail for the Harbour. Passed Fort Independence and Nix's Mate on our starb<sup>d.</sup> hand and at 3.55 P.M. let go the anchor in 5 fths water off the Navy yard. Furled sails, hoisted out the boats, and sent on shore all men whose time had expired.92







## APPENDIX A

#### 1. ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE TABLE

SAILED FROM	Date	ARRIVED AT	DATE	DAYS AT SEA	Dis- TANCE RUN	DAYS IN PORT
Hampton Roads,	1842	Funchal,	1842	29	3,535.6	3
"Virginia" Funchal, Island	January 9th. February 11th.	Rio De	February 8th. March 8th.	25	4,103.4	18
of Madeira Rio de Janeiro, "Brazil"	March 26th.	Janeiro Valparaiso	May 6th.	41	4,8521/4	1
Valparaiso, "Chili"	May 7th.	Callao	May 15th.	8	1,319	17
Callao, Peru	May 31st.	Valparaiso	June 24th.	23	3,083	7
Valparaiso, "Chili"	July 1st.	Coquimbo	July 2d.	2	1811/2	27
Coquimbo, Chili	July 30th	Callao	August 8th.	9	1,1473/4	30
Callao, Peru	September 8th	Monterey	October 19th.	42	5,5161/2	33
Monterey, California	November 23d	Oahu, Sand- wich Islands	December 5th.	12	2,2621/4	3
Honolulu, Oahu, Sandwich Is.	December 8th.	Monterey	December 24th.	16	2,536	18
Monterey, California	1843 January 10th	Mazatlan	1843 January 22d.	11	1,4963/4	38
Mazatlan, Mexico	March 1st.		April 27th.	57	7,1241/2	24
Valparaiso, Chili	May 21st.	Callao	June 8th.	17	1,9443/4	13
Callao, Peru	June 21st.	Owhyhee [Hawaii], Sandwich Islands	July 23d.	32	5,9873/4	11
Byrons Bay, Owhyhee, S.I.	August 2d.	Oahu, Sandwich Islands	August 4th.	11/2	196	15
Honolulu, Island of Oahu	August 20th	Mukahiva, Marqueese [Marquesas] Islands	October 6th.	47	7,0363/4	33 hrs.
Anna Maria Bay, M. I.	October 7th		October 12th.	5	8603/4	7
Matavai Bay, Otaheite, S. I.	October 19th	. Valparaiso	November 21st.	32	5,384	13
Valparaiso, Chili	December 5th	. Callao	December 15th.	10	1,737	37

# 1. ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE TABLE (Continued)

SAILED FROM	DAT	E	ARRIVED AT	DAT	E	DAYS AT SEA	DIS- TANCE RUN	DAYS IN PORT
Callao, Peru	1844 January	21st.	Callao	1844 January	22d.	1	108	33
Callao, Peru	February	24th.	Mazatlan	March	28th.	33	3,6893/4	19
Mazatlan, Mexico	April	16th.	Callao, Peru	June	6th.	51	5,2193/4	31
Callao, Peru	July	6th.	Rio De Janeiro	August	16th.	41	6,719	9
Rio De Janeiro, Brazil	August	24th.	Boston, Mass.	October	3તે.	40	5,9371/2	Forever for Me
						587	81,2571/2	4091/2

### 2. ISLANDS SEEN AND LANDS MADE

		Z. KOLANDO OLEM	AND LANDS WADE				
I	DATE	Made	Remarks				
184	12						
January		Cape Henry Light House St Marys Island Island of Madeira Cape Frio	Feb. 21st. Boarded the English Ship Lither- land from Canton, who reported the English had taken Amay [?] Ningpo, & Chuson [Chu- san], & that the Chinese had completely				
		Razor [Raza] Island Lord Hoods Nose Cobrass Island	blockaded Canton River to Kawana [?]. March 4th. passed a large Log covered with branches. 5th. Caught a Magnificent Dolphin				
April	26th 17th 18th	Round Island Staten Land Saint Fallows Cape Saint John	5 ft 5 in Long, weight 55 lbs. 10th. The French Admiral, accompanied by all the Cap- tains of French vessels in Port, visited the Ship. At the reception after the Military				
May	5th 14th 15th	Two Rocks Point of Angells Andes Mountains Island of San Lorenzo	honours, the band struck up the Marsailles Hymn, and on hisleaving the Ship "Parisiena." The Portugueese Minister of Marine and suite also visited the Ship. On their arrival and				
June	16th	Point San Antonio Point Blanco	departure the band played appropriate airs. March 11th. National salutes were fired by				
	19th 20th	Sail Rock Point Corumilla	the Forts and Portugueese Vessels of War in Honour of the Princess "Janeiro's" birthday.				
	22d	Point of Angells	HBM Frigate President went to sea.				
July	2d	Land in sight from Val-	March 21st. His Imperial Highness Don				
"	>>	paraiso to Coquimbo Coquimbo Point	Pedro II, Emperor of the Brazils, passed up the Harbour & was saluted by all the Men of				
August	8th	Island of Saint Lorenzo	War laying at anchor.				
Sept.	25th	Clipperton Rock	March 25th. sent home Invalids per Brig				
Oct.	19th	Point Pinos	Mary Elizabeth. 26th. in getting underweigh,				

#### 2. ISLANDS SEEN AND LANDS MADE (Continued)

I	DATE	Made	Remarks
Decemb	oer 3d 4th	Island of Mowee [Maui] Island of Morokai	drifted foul of a Brazilian Frigate. Let go the larb <sup>d</sup> anchor & got a hawser to a Brig on starb <sup>d</sup> bow, & hauled off.
**	99	[Molokai]	
,,	**	Island of Oahu	May 3. three French men of war in sight.
,,	23d	Island of Ranai [Lanai]	Cleared the Ship for action, cast loose the
	23d	Point Santa Cruz Point Pinos	Guns, & remained at Quarters 7 hours.
184		Foint Finos	May 6th. At 1.30 PM landed the Hon J. S. Pendleton of Va., Chargé de Affairés to the
		Cape Saint Lucas	Republic of Chili, & gave him the customary
January	20th	Tres Marias	salute.
19	2181	Isle of Creston	
"	11	Island of Veiuado [?]	May 15th, found the U.S. Ships Cyane, Relief,
April	26th	Point of Angells	St Louis, Schooner Shark, & HBM Frigate Dublin in Callao Bay, May 19th, Peruvian
June	7th	Island of St. Lorenzo	Admiral and suite visited the Ship. Saluted
June	22d	Island of Hawaii	them with the usual number of guns, May 24th.
July	23d	Blonde Point	salutes of 21 guns were fired by all the Men
August	3d	Island of Mowee	of War in the Harbour, the Dublin being
Mugust	Ju	Sandwich Is.	handsomely dressed with flags, it being the
**	,,	Island of Morokai	anniversary of the birth day of "Victoria,"
		Sandwich Is.	Queen of England. June 1st. the American
"	11	Island of Ranai	Squadron, Comprising the Frigate United
		Sandwich Is.	States, Sloops Cyane, St Louis, Yorktown,
22	4th	Island of Oahu	& Schooner Shark, got underweigh and stood
		Sandwich Is.	out to sea.
Octobe:	5 th	Hoods Island	June 26th. His Excellency Governor Simpson
000000		Marqueese Is.	of Valparaiso visited the Ship.
21	3.2	Uahuga, Marqueese Is.	June 29th. Experienced a Norther in Val-
>>	,,	Roapoua, Marqueese Is.	paraiso; sent down top gallant yards, & rig-
>2	19	Nukahiva, Marqueese Is.	ging, & lower Yards; rigged in flying jib boom;
12	22	Tower Bluff,	veered out all the larbd chains & got a range
		Marqueese Is.	of sheet cable, a very heavy sea on.
12	11th	Island of Lazereff	July 3d. gave the Ships Company liberty for
		Chain Islands	48 hours in Coquimbo. July 2d. at 2.30 AM a
"	23	Island Tahiti,	brilliant meteor passed over the firmament
		Society Islands	from E to West.
"	33	Island of Imeo	Aug. 1st. consigned to the deep the body of Jos.
		Society Islands	Ward. 28th. Recd. on board three Mutineers
**	20th	Is. of Tooboonio [Tabu-	from the Henry Clay. 31st. the Officers of the
		aimanu?] Society Is.	squadron went on shore to attend the funeral
Nov.	19th	Island of Juan Fernandez	of the English Consul General; fired Minute
2.9	2.7	Island of Masafuera	guns as funeral honours to the same.
,,	21st	Bell Mountain "Andes"	Sept. 6th. the English Squadron went to Sea
**	**	Point Corumilla	under sealed orders. 21st. Committed to the
,,,	**	Point of Angells	deep the Body of Robert Thompson, Qr. Gr.
Dec.	14th	Moro Solar	Oct. 19th. Run into the Harbour of Monterey
33	**	Lobos Rocks	under English colours and took possession of
"	"	A Peak of the Andes	the Town & Fort. Nov. 22d. H. I. Hartstene
13	21	Island of San Lorenzo	left this Ship as bearer of despatches to Mexico

### 2. ISLANDS SEEN AND LANDS MADE (Continued)

			1
D	ATE	Made	Remarks
184 March  "" "" "" April "" "" "" May "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" ""	4 21st 25th 26th 27th 28th " 17th " 16th 14th 21st 25th 30th " 31st	Clouds Island Cape St. Lucas High Land of California Island of Creston Island of Vieuado [?] Outer Rock Island of Juanico White Rock Tres Marias Deer Island Cape St. Lorenzo La Plata Island Point Saint Helena Point Parinas Lobos de la Tierra Lobos de la Mar Islands of Guanape Cao Island Vieudo Island	and the U. S. Dec. 19th. Wm. Jones was knocked overboard, a heavy sea on, and two Miles astern before picked up. Dec. 29th. Commandanté of Monterey visited the Ship. Jan. 27th. 1843. two boats come alongside containing the Captain & crew of the Belgian Brig Industriel and reported that their vessel had struck near Cape St. Joseph in the night of 22d., and being unable to get her off, they abandoned her the 24th., and now begged to be received on board, which we did, untill some further provision could be made for them by the French Consul. Jan. 28th. General Duque, Governor of Mazatlan, visited the Ship. Feb. 22d. was celebrated among the Officers with a dinner given by the Commodore, & among the men by splicing the Main Brace. At night a number of rockets and other fire works, the Cyane being illuminated from her lower booms to her mast heads; she pre-
June ,,, ,, August ,, Oct. ,, ,, ,,	4th 5th 6th 26th	Corcorado Island Santa Head "Point" The two Hornigas Island of Pescadores San Lorenzo Island of Fronton Light House on Raza Is. Sugar Loaf Cape Frio Cape Cod Chatham Light Nansett Light Passed Nix's Mate	sented a magnificent appearance. Feb. 25th. attended the funeral of Commander Byron of H. B. M. Ship Champion. March 4th. discovered a Comet near the Sun. On the 6th. half an hour after sunset the Comet reappeared, at first dimly, but gradually brightening to effulgence. By measurement was found to be 40° Easterly toward the constellation Canis Major. The body was as bright as a star of the first magnitude & about 8° in altitude, in a S.E. direction. It continued to be seen untill the 29th. May 1st. sent home 9 invalids per Yorktown. Fired a national salute of 21 guns in compliment to the birth day of the King of France, which was returned by the Frigate La Reine Blanche. The 20th. she went to Sea. May 21st. Hon J. S. Pendleton visited the Ship; gave him the customary salute. June 28th. observed an Eclipse of the Sun. July 22d. discovered a great number of canoes in shore of us. July 23d. Revd. Mr. Coan, Missionary, performed divine service on board. July 27th. the Mountain of Mona Kea capped with snow & the summit of Kelauea with its burning crater distinctly visible. August 5th. American Barque Elizabeth came in, having lost her Captain & a boats crew of 5 in taking a whale. Aug. 13

#### APPENDICES

### 2. ISLANDS SEEN AND LANDS MADE (Continued)

DATE	Made	Remarks
		King Kamehameha III and suite visited the Ship. On his arrival & departure the Yards were manned; salutes of 21 guns fired. Sept. 17th. being in the Lat. & Long of Shoal on arrowsmiths Chart, found no soundings, & had there been a shoal within 7 miles of us at any hour that day, it could not have been passed unnoticed. So many have searched in vain for this alleged shoal that its existance can now hardly be thought possible. Oct. 4 at 5.22 AM David Black fell over board from the head while towing his hammock. Immediately lowered the Barge & 2d Cutter; hove to; sent the boats in search. At 7.50 boats returned; put in fresh crews; & sent them. At 10.15 all search proving ineffectual, filled away on our course. Oct. 7th. the King & Queen of Nukahiva visited the Ship. Saluted them with 5 guns. Oct. 19th. Royal Consort of Queen Pomare visited the Ship.

#### 3. SHIPS BOARDED

DATE		Nation	Rate	Name	Days Out	From
1842						
February	20th.	English	Ship	Litherland	92	Canton
March	6th.	Portugueese	Brig	Leonore	5	Rio
22	11th.	American	Barque	Leonidas	53	Baltimore
>>	16th.	>>	Brig	Midas	8	Bahia
**	22d.	>>	Barque	Mary	49	London
June	25th.	>>	Brig	Philip Hone	110	New York
>>	"	22	Ship	Splendid	110	New York
August	20th.	**	23	Victoria	9	Valparaiso
2.2	22d.	English	Barque	Secrete	4	Isly
99	3>	22	Brig	Мауро	4	22
97	26th.	French	Barque	Givondi	20	Pisco
99	30th.	>>	22	Valliant Basque	5	Arica
33	22	Genoese	Brig	New Penguin	23	Guayaquil
September	4th.	Peruvian	Schooner	Carmon	9	Santa [Peru]
33	5th.	Escuadorian	Barque	Micomo	15	Payta
22	22	American	Ship	Isabella	195	Cruising
>>	"	English	Barque	Octavia	9	Guanchaco
>>	11	Peruvian	Brig	Guarmeino	8	Puna
,,	18th.	"	Schooner	Industry	8	Gallapagos Is.
October	20th.	Mexican	Barque	Clarita	2	St. Francisco
"	99	7.7	22	Joven		
				Guipscoanna		Monterey

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### 3. SHIPS BOARDED (Continued)

DATE		NATION	RATE	Name	DAYS	FROM
22	9.7	37	Brig	Trinadad		33
>>	2.2	"	Schooner	California	35	Mazatlan
>>	25th.	American	Brig	Bolivar	8	Santa Barbara
11	28th.	27	Barque	Don Quixotte	3	22 33
December 1843	6th.	English	Barque	Cowlitz	19	Columbia River
anuary	21st.	Mexican	Brig	Paget Lapaz	3	Pazo
ebruary	7th.	English	Barque	Hebe	48	Valparaiso
"	19	77	Brig	Sun	43	Callao
2.2	20th.	Chilian	22	Rosa	55	Puna
23	26th.	>>	Hermdte Brig	Thresa	8	Valparaiso
7.7	>>	American	Barque	Newberryport	107	New York
2.3	>>	Mexican	Herm. Brig	Lapaz	3	Guaymas
March	1st.	American	Brig	Smyrna	17	Valparaiso
pril	4th.	English	Barque	Index	80	Santa Barbara
11	7th.	"	Steamer	Peru	30	Valparaiso
Aav	9th.	77	Barque	Bertram	2	Taleahuana
"	2.7	American	Brig	Philip Hone	7	Coquimbo
>>	1 2	Chilian	Barque	Esparazo		Copaipo
ulv	14th.	English	,,	Pamather	120	Liverpool
"	,,	Hawaiian	Schooner	Bera	2	Owhyhee
ugust	5th.	American	Barque	Elizabeth	21	Cruising
					mos.	
,,	9th.	English	"	Oahu	2	Owhyhee
October	16th.	American	,,	Lark	90	Canton
2.7	,,	>>	Ship	Magnolia	11	Cruise
			1		mos.	
December	5th.	"	,,	Chili	105	Boston
37	19th.	>>	Brig	Octavian	95	,,
,,	25th.	"	,,	Whig	9	Arica
>>	27th.	33	Ship	Constitution		
,,	30th.	French	Barque	Alfred	2	Pisco
1844						
anuary	2d.	American	Ship	John Adams		Cruise
77	4th.	,,	,,	Octavia	210	Nantucket
anuary	13th.	Peruvian	Brig	loven Emilles	13	Torni
"	"	Danish	Ship	Doneo		Cruising
>>	>>	American	,,,	Lafayette		27
17	23d.	27	,,	Empire		23
11	17	12	,,	Milo		"
ebruary	9th.	19	"	Orpheus		Coquimbo
pril	11th.	Hamburg	>>	Argo	43	Valparaiso
,,	>>	American	Brig	Philip Hone		"
77	>>	Hawaiian	Schooner	Hoikaii	44	Oahu
une	10th.	American	Ship	Messenger		"
une ,,	26th.	micrican ,,	Barque	George & Henry	7	Valparaiso
,,	29th.	,,	Ship	Sarah Frances		17
uly	25th.	2.5	,,	Natchez	64	New York
uiy September		,,	Brig	Cordelia	7	Boston
cheemper	a O Cir.		0			

#### APPENDICES

#### 4. DEATHS DURING THE CRUISE

DATE		Name	RATE	AGE	DISEASE	WHERE BURIED
1	842					
Aug.		Joseph Ward	Gun. Mate	49	Inflamation of the Lungs	Lat. 28.13'S. Long. 73.38'W.
Sept.	21st.	Robert Thompson	Qr. Gunner	33	Inflamation of the Bowells	Lat. 3.56'N. Long. 103.58'W.
Oct.	11th.	J. Francisco Louis	Bandsman	40	Consumption	Lat. 29.10'N. Long. 133.59'W.
Nov.	10th.	Wm. Wager	O. Sea	19	Consumption	Monterey California
1	843					
Feb.	22d.	Wm. B. Bradley	Hosp. Stew.	23	Consumption	Dead Man's Is. Mazatlan
Mar.	21st.	G. Simonson	Sea	42	Consumption	Lat. 20'N. Long. 112.02'W.
Apr.	2d.	Jos. Sweet	Qr. Mr.	39	Paralysis	Lat. 28.40'S. Long. 120.07'W.
Sept.	23d.	Conly Dougherty	Sea	28	Disease of the Heart	Lat. 5.25'N. Long, 110.25'W.
Oct.	4th.	David Black	Cooper	45	Fell over- board in	Lat. 8.0'S. Long. 135.W.
1	844					
Apr.	26th.	Ralph W. Emerson	O. S.	24	Inflamation of the Bowells	Lat. 10.35'N. Long. 97. 46'W.
June	30th.	Josiah Faxon	Sailmaker	29	Inflamation of the Lungs	Island of San Lorenzo
Aug.	27th.	Henry William	Capt. Cook	32	Consumption of Lungs	Lat. 23.19'S. Long. 40.25'W.
Sept.	18th.	Jno. M. Hopkins	Sea	31	Apoletic [?]	Lat. 19.39'N. Long. 57.29'W.

#### APPENDIX B

[Official Record of Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones's Attack on Monterey, October 19, 1842, Taken from the Pacific Squadron Letters, Naval Records and Library, Washington, D. C.]

## [1]

Flag Ship United States, At Sea, Lat. 12 15' S., Long. 77 37' W., September 8, 1842.

Gentlemen: I lay before you a letter from Mr. John Parrott, the United States consul at Mazatlan, enclosing the Mexican "El Cosmopolita" of June 4th, 1842, which contains the manifesto of the Mexican Government, transmitting a certain letter addressed to the Hon. Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, to the diplomatic corps and consular agents of all foreign States, in relation to the difficulties pending between the United States and the Government of Mexico—from which it is quite probable that the United States and Mexico are now at war.

I also lay before you a newspaper, published at Boston, United States, containing a paragraph, taken from the New Orleans Advertiser of the 19th of April, 1842, asserting, on what the New Orleans editor considers "authentic" information, that Mexico has ceded the Californias to Great Britain for seven millions of

dollars! In corroboration of the reported cession of the Californias to Great Britain, I have to inform you that the whole of Her Britannic Majesty's naval force, under Rear Admiral Richard Thomas, (filled with extra provisions), has suddenly and with the utmost secrecy of purpose left the coast of Chili and Peru, under sealed orders, just sent out from England, and, as I have good reason to believe, is now on its way to Panama, where it will be re-enforced by troops, &c., from the West Indies, destined for the occupation of California.

Regarding the foregoing movement of the British fleet, in connexion with the indecorous and menacing letter of the Mexican minister, José Maria de Bocanegra, to Mr. Webster, sent forth to the world under such extraordinary circumstances, and in such discourteous terms, as almost positive confirmation of the rumor above alluded to, and as conclusive evidence of the hostile intentions of Mexico towards the United States, I have called you together, to get the benefit of your opinions and advice as to the employment of the small naval force at my disposal, so as to best promote the interests and preserve the honor of our country, thus suddenly jeoparded.

THOS. AP C. JONES
Commanding Pacific Squadron

To Captain James Armstrong, Commander C. K. Stribling, Commander Thomas A. Dornin, United States Navy

[2]

Consulate of the United States Mazatlan, June 22, 1842.

Sir: I have the honor to enclose a newspaper of the 4th of June, containing correspondence between this Government and our minister in Mexico, on the subject of Texas.

From the tone of this correspondence, it is to be supposed that our minister will be recalled from Mexico immediately on the arrival of the correspondence at Washington, and that it is highly probable there will be a war between the two countries.

General Thompson has made several formal demands of this Government, none of which have as yet been satisfactorily replied to.

The general opinion is, that our minister at Mexico has been forcing very hard our claims, and that, in order to screen itself from the payment of the same, this Government has raised the Texas question, with the view of prolonging the payment of the money awarded under the convention between the two countries.

I do not expect the reply to the letters of Mr. Bocanegra will arrive at Mexico earlier than the middle of August, that the whole may be laid before Congress. I shall embrace the earliest opportunities that may from time to time offer, to acquaint you with all that takes place.

I remain, most respectfully, your obedient servant, John Parrott, Consul.

Com. Thomas ap Catesby Jones,

Com'g U. S. Naval Forces, Pacific ocean, Valparaiso or Callao.

# [3]

Flag Ship United States, At Sea, September 13, 1842, Lat. 421' S., Long. 8642' 40" W.

Sir: I am again at sea, and refer you to the accompanying paper [See Nos. 1 and 2, above] for the cause of my sudden and unexpected departure with the squadron from the port of Callao and the coast of Peru.

It was not until late on Saturday, the 3d instant, that my suspicions were awakened as to Admiral Thomas's intentions, when I immediately repaired to Lima, to confer with Mr. Pickett, our chargé at that Court, and with whom on this, as on other occasions, I had full and free consultation; and the result of our conference is now in progress of execution, so far as that I am on my way to the coasts of Mexico and California, there to be governed as circumstances may dictate, when I shall have reached the scene of action.

The Dublin, bearing the flag of Rear Admiral Richard Thomas, sailed from Callao on the afternoon of the 5th instant, having previously despatched the Carysfort and Champion, all under sealed orders. I should have followed the next evening, but was prevented by want of wind.

In the interim our vessels took in all the provisions and stores needed, that could be procured at Callao, and put to sea on the afternoon of the 7th, and we are now crowding all sail on the direct course for Mexico.

That this proceeding is calculated to excite your apprehensions as to our discretion, I am very free to admit, but I beg to assure you that no precipitate steps will be taken, by which aggression will be charged on me; at the same time I shall not shrink from any re-

sponsibility which in my judgment the honor and integrity of our country may require.

My situation, I can but think, is one of greater embarrassment than has ever before fallen on any of our naval commanders abroad, but I have not the least disposition to transfer it to the shoulders of another. I am proud, however, of having it in my power to say, that there is no difference of opinion between that very discreet and able representative of the United States at Lima, the Hon. J. C. Pickett, and myself, upon the various international questions we have found it necessary to discuss since I have been on this station; and, I need scarcely add, that the harmony and good will which prevails in this squadron assures me and the nation "that every man will do his duty" when his country calls.

Your last orders to me are my sailing orders, dated 10th December, 1841, nearly nine months ago; since which, I have not a scrip of a pen from the Navy Department. I am therefore forced to the belief that your communications must still be detained somewhere on the uncertain route of all communications between the Department and this station. Hence, in all that I may do, I shall confine myself strictly to what I may suppose could be your views and orders, had you the means of communicating them to me.

The Creole affair, the question of the right of search, the mission of Lord Ashburton, the sailing of a strong squadron from France under sealed orders, for the military occupation, as it now turns out, of the Marquesas and Washington Islands; new difficulties between the United States and Mexico; the well-founded rumor of a cession of the Californias; and,

lastly, the secret movements of the English naval force in this quarter, so much at variance with their hitherto practice of regularly advertising the intended sailing of their ships, have all occurred since the date of your last order to me. Consequently, I am without instructions, or the slightest intimation as to your views and wishes, upon what I consider as a vital question to the United States—the occupation of California by Great Britain, under a secret treaty with Mexico. In this dilemma, all that I can promise is a faithful and zealous application of my best abilities to promote and sustain the honor and welfare of our country.

I have the honor to be, with profound respect, your

obedient servant,

THOMAS AP C. JONES Commanding Pacific Squadron.

Hon. A. P. Upshur, Secretary of the Navy, Washington, D. C.

### [4]

#### GENERAL ORDER

Flag Ship United States, At sea, October 18, 1842.

We are now approaching the shores of California, the territory of Mexico, the enemy of our country, whose flag it is our duty to strike, and hoist in its place our own. This may or may not be an easy task; we are prepared for the worst, while we hope for the best.

I have no idea but that we shall accomplish all we undertake, and that in a few hours we shall be in possession of Monterey. It is not only our duty to take California, but we must keep it afterwards, at all hazards. To ensure this, it is of the first importance to reconcile the inhabitants to the change. The soldiers of Mexico we know how to take care of, but it is the peaceful and unoffending inhabitants whom we must reconcile, and, if possible, bring to our aid. I can scarcely think it necessary for me to caution American seamen against the detestable crime of plundering and maltreating unoffending inhabitants of countries taken in war.

During the battle and strife, every man must do his utmost to take and destroy; but when the flag is struck, all hostility must cease, and even become the protectors of all, and not the oppressors of any. To be more explicit, and that none may misunderstand their duties, the following regulations must be strictly adhered to, as no violation can hope to escape the severest punishment:

1st. On landing, no man is to leave the beach until the commanding officer give the order to march.

2d. No gun is to be fired, or other act of hostility committed, without express orders from the officer commanding the party on shore.

3d. The officers and boat keepers will anchor their respective boats as close to the shore as they will safely float, and *remain* in them, prepared to defend themselves against attack, and attentively watch for signals from the ships, as well as from the party on shore.

4th. No man is to quit the ranks, or enter into any house, for any pretense whatever, without express orders from an officer. Let every man avoid insult or offense to any unoffending inhabitant, and especially avoid that eternal disgrace which would be attached to

our names and our country's name, by indignity offered to a single female, even let her standing be however low it may.

5th. Plunder of every kind is strictly forbidden. Not only does the plundering of the smallest article from a prize forfeit all claim to prize money, but the offender must expect to be otherwise severely punished.

6th. Finally, let me entreat you, one and all, not to tarnish our hope for bright success by any act that we shall be ashamed to acknowledge before God and our country.

THOMAS AP C. JONES
Commanding Pacific Squadron

### [5]

To His Excellency the Governor and Military and Civil Commander of the Department of Monterey de California.

Flag Ship United States, Monterey Bay, October 19, 1842.

Sir: In the name of the United States of America, and with the earnest desire to avoid the sacrifice of human life and the horrors of war, which must be the immediate consequence of your non-compliance with this summons, I call on you to surrender to the arms of the United States the fort, military posts, and stations, under your command, together with all troops, arms, and munitions of war, of every description, subject to your jurisdiction and control.

To avoid unnecessary delay, I have hereunto annexed articles of capitulation, and have fully empow-

ered the bearer, Captain James Armstrong, to unite with your excellency, or such persons as your excellency may name, to sign and execute the same on the part of our respective Governments.

# THOMAS AP C. JONES

Commander-in-chief of the United States naval forces on the Pacific station, and of the naval and military expedition for the occupation of Old and New California, &c.

# [6]

Articles of Capitulation Entered into, This 19th Day of October, 1842, between Thomas ap Catesby Jones, Esq., Commanding the United States Naval Forces on the Coast of California, and His Excellency John Baptista Alvarado, Civil Governor of Monterey, and Captain Mariano Silva, Commandant of the Castle of Monterey.

Article 1. The garrison of the castle of Monterey shall march out tomorrow, October 20, at 11 o'clock, A.M., with music and colors flying, and shall repair to the Government house, where they will deliver their arms and give in their names to the United States officer appointed for that purpose. At the time that the garrison leaves the castle, the Mexican flag will be lowered, and the flag of the United States hoisted in its place, the troops of the United States marching in at the same time.

The garrison of the castle of Monterey, together with all other troops in pay of Mexico, within the ter-

ritory surrendered, to be considered as prisoners of war. They shall confine themselves to such limits and quarters as the commander of the United States forces may assign them.

Article 2. The forts, barracks, and their appurtenances, together with all arms, accoutrements, munitions of war, military clothing, military and naval stores, artillery, artillery and cavalry horses, public provisions, and *public* stores of every description, shall be surrendered to the United States, and given up in no worse condition than they were when this summons was first presented. . . .

Article 3. The garrison, rank and file, and all civil officers, as soon as transportation can be obtained, shall be transported to some convenient port in Old Mexico, at the expense of the United States; the capitulating party first entering into parol obligations not to serve against the United States of North America, until regularly exchanged. . . .

Article 5. Security of persons, of private property on shore, and religious rights, guarantied to the inhabitants of the Californias, so long as they demean themselves peaceably, and take no part against the laws and authorities of the United States. . . .

Article 7. The department of Monterey, hereby surrendered, is understood to include what is known as the district of Monterey, extending from the mission of St. John, to the northward, to that of St. Louis, to the southward, including the port of St. Louis.

Article 8. It is hereby understood that his excellency Governor John Baptista Alvarado has been induced to sign these articles from motives of humanity; the small force at his disposal affording no hope of

successful resistance against the powerful force brought against him.

JAMES ARMSTRONG

Captain U.S. Navy, on the part of the United States of America.

Jose Abrego Pedro Narvaez

Comicionados

Approved:

THOMAS AP C. JONES

Commander of the forces of the United States, &c.

JUAN B. ALVARADO

MARIANO SILVA,

El Com. Militar.

[7]

Flag Ship United States, Monterey Bay, October 19, 1842.

To the Inhabitants of the Two Californias:

Although I come in arms, as the representative of a powerful nation, upon whom the Central Government of Mexico has waged war, I come not to spread desolation among California's peaceful inhabitants.

It is against the armed enemies of my country, banded and arrayed under the flag of Mexico, that war and its dread consequences will be enforced.

Inhabitants of California, you have only to remain at your homes, in pursuit of peaceful vocations, to ensure security of life, persons, and property, from the consequences of an unjust war, into which Mexico has suddenly plunged you.

Those stars and stripes, infallible emblems of civil

liberty, of liberty of speech, freedom of the press, and above all the freedom of conscience, with constitutional right and lawful security to worship the Great Deity in the way most congenial to each one's sense of duty to his Creator, now float triumphantly before you, and, henceforth and forever, will give protection and security to you, to your children, and to unborn countless thousands. All the rights and privileges which you now enjoy, together with the privilege of choosing your own magistrates and other officers, for the administration of justice among yourselves, will be secured to all who remain peaceably at their homes, and offer no resistance to the forces of the United States.

Such of the inhabitants of California, whether natives or foreigners, as may not be disposed to accept the high privilege of citizenship, and to live peaceably, under the free Government of the United States, will be allowed time to dispose of their property, and to remove out of the country, without any other restriction, while they remain in it, than the observance of strict neutrality—total abstinence from taking part, directly or indirectly, in the war against the United States, or holding any intercourse whatever with any civil or military officer, agent, or other person, employed by the Mexican Government.

All provisions and supplies, of every kind, furnished by the inhabitants of California, for the use of the United States, their ships, and their soldiers, will be paid for at fair rates. No *private property* will be taken for public use without just compensation.

THOMAS AP C. JONES

Commander-in-chief U. S. Naval Forces on the Pacific.

[8]

Flag Ship United States Monterey, October 21, 1842.

Gentlemen: Some information has this moment come to me, which leaves little doubt on my mind but that the late difficulties between the United States and Mexico have been amicably adjusted; and, anxious to avoid all causes which would have a tendency to excite unfriendly feelings in a state of peace, I propose to restore the Mexican authorities in Monterey, and release the vessels embargoed, and place everything exactly as I found them on my arrival on the 19th instant, your excellency and Captain Silva guarantying no harm to the native or foreign inhabitants of this district, as the consequence of the late capitulation.

The United States guard in charge of the castle of Monterey will re-embark at 4 o'clock this afternoon, or whenever Captain Silva shall be prepared to take possession; at which time the Mexican flag will be rehoisted, and will be saluted by the American squad-

ron; all hostilities to cease on both sides.

I am, gentlemen, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

THOMAS AP C. JONES

Commanding U. S. Naval Forces on the Pacific Station.

[9]

Flag Ship United States, Bay of Monterey de California, October 24, 1842.

Sir: My letter of the 13th of September, No. 29, (confidential), apprized you of my sudden departure from Callao, and the reasons for that movement.

On the same day the Dale parted company, bound to Panama. . . . From the 13th of September to the 19th of October nothing worthy of note transpired, not having seen a single strange sail north of the equator.

At daylight on the morning of October 19 (the Cyane in company) we were close in with Point Pinos, the southern point of this bay. At meridian of the same day, under English colors, I boarded a Mexican barque, a few hours from Monterey, the master of which was a foreigner, engaged in the coasting trade under the Mexican flag, but was utterly ignorant, or professed to be so, of any difficulties between the United States and Mexico. He believed that the latest accounts from the United States were up to January 1, 1842, and from the city of Mexico the 1st of May.

At 45 minutes past 2 o'clock, P.M., I anchored, under our own proper flag, the two ships, as close to what is called the castle of Monterey-a dilapidated work mounting eleven guns—as the depth of water would allow, with springs on the cables, and every thing ready for attack or defense, anxiously expecting a visit from some American or neutral resident, from whom I might obtain disinterested information, the better to enable me to understand the true relations between the two countries; but no such persons came near me. At length, a boat bearing the Mexican flag, conveying two officers, approached the ship; trepidation was manifest in their deportment, and such was their reserve that nothing satisfactory, or even coherent, could be extracted from them, except that they had never heard of any difficulties between the United States and Mexico, and knew nothing of war; that there was no late news from Mexico or the United States, &c.

From the mate of a ship wearing American colors, at anchor near me, whom I had called on board, I learned that the ship (the Fame, of Boston) was recently from the Sandwich islands (it is a curious fact that the latest news from Mexico is often received at Monterey via the Sandwich islands); that her departure from Woahoo [Oahu] had been delayed a week or two in consequence of late letters from Mazatlan, reporting war between Mexico and the United States; that they approached the coast cautiously, believing that there was war, but had heard nothing later since their arrival; that there was also a report on the coast that England was to take possession of Upper California, and was to guaranty to Mexico the possession of Old or Lower California—thus in a measure corroborating the impressions under which I had left Lima.

The stir on shore was now general, the guns on the castle were manned, and every thing seemed prepared for using them. Horsemen were collecting, and messengers appeared to be passing to and fro in every direction—in short, every thing that I could see or hear seemed to strengthen the impressions under which I entered the port, and none more so than that no American citizen came on board, although I knew that there were or ought to have been several of my countrymen in Monterey.

The time for action had now arrived; whilst nothing had occurred to shake my belief in the certainty of hostilities with Mexico, the reiterated rumored cession of California to England was strengthened by what I have already related. Hence no time was to be lost, as another day might bring Admiral Thomas with a

superior force to take possession in the name of his sovereign; General Micheltorena, or the new governor general of California, might appear to defend his capital, within three days' march of which he was then said to be. If I took possession of the country, and held it by right of conquest in war, and there was war with Mexico, all would be right; then, if the English should come and claim under a treaty of cession, as such treaties do not give title till possession is had, I should have established a legal claim for my country to the conquered territory, and at least have placed her upon strong grounds for forcible retention or amicable negotiations, as after circumstances might dictate. If Admiral Thomas should afterwards arrive, and attempt to supplant our flag on shore, the marines of the squadron to man the guns on the fort, without weakening our ships, would ensure us the victory, and the responsibility would rest on the English commander. On the other hand, if it should turn out that amicable relations had been restored between the United States and Mexico, that Mexico had not parted with the Californias, and that at the time I demanded and took possession of Monterey there was no war, the responsibility of the act, at first, might seem to rest on me, certainly not upon our Government, who gave no orders upon the subject. But if I am right (of which there can be but little doubt) in assigning to Mexico the attitude of a nation having declared conditional war, then, under all the circumstances of the case, Mexico is the aggressor, and as such is responsible for all evils and consequences resulting from the hostile and menacing position in which she placed herself on the 4th of June last.

But I may be wrong, "toto coelo", in all my deductions and conclusions. If so, I may forfeit my commission, and all that I have acquired in seven-and-thirty years' devotion to my country's service. Terrible as such a consequence would be to me and my family, it was not sufficient to deter me from doing what I believed to be my duty, when a concatenation of unforeseen and unforeseeable events rendered prompt and energetic action necessary for the honor and interest of my country. Come what will, I have the proud satisfaction of believing, that however severely my judgment may be condemned, no one will question the motives which impelled me to action.

Thus arguing—whether right or wrong, I had no means beyond the limits of my squadron for determining—I decided, under all circumstances, that it was my duty to take possession of the place in the name of the United States, and accordingly sent Captain Armstrong on shore, under a flag of truce, to demand a surrender of California to the forces under my command. Not wishing to be unnecessarily precipitate in negotiating with the Governor, I gave him eighteen hours to consider my proposition, which was submitted in Spanish as well as English, at 4 P.M., on the 19th of October.

The Governor of Monterey unhesitatingly consented to surrender the department over which he presides, without asking a single question, or even inquiring why we appeared in hostile array against his country; nevertheless the summons was left with him, and the terms of capitulation open for discussion until nine o'clock next morning.

At half past eleven at night I was aroused from my

cot by the call of two Mexican officers, sent as commissioners to treat for the surrender of Monterey. The interview lasted over two hours; and as the terms first submitted by me underwent various alterations, and had to be made in duplicate, both in Spanish and English, half past nine o'clock next morning was appointed for signing the articles, and eleven for changing the flags.

The Mexican commissioners, however, as if impatient to surrender the country, were on board at half past seven, instead of half past nine o'clock, and signed the articles before duplicates could be made, and at eleven o'clock the town and department of Monterey were surrendered to the arms of the United States. . . .

(It is here proper for me to state, that at the close of the nocturnal interview, after the terms of the capitulation had all been arranged, Mr. Larkin, an American merchant, long residing at Monterey, who accompanied the Mexican commissioners as their interpreter, but had not before been on board, inquired which side had declared the war, when he was informed that the declaration was conditional, and on the part of Mexico. He said that there were very late dates from Mexico on shore, which made no mention of any difficulties whatever between the two countries. I requested him to send me all the information he could obtain on shore, public or private, that was later than the 4th of June. Next morning he (Mr. Larkin) came off at an early hour, but without bringing letter or paper of any kind, still affirming, however, that there were late Mexican papers on shore, but that he had not been able to obtain them. This circumstance, so far from inducing a change of purpose, was well calculated to increase suspicion, and to render prompt action more necessary than

ever, especially when taken in connexion with what I had before learned, viz: that General Micheltorena, a fast friend of General Santa Anna, had recently arrived from Mexico with six hundred troops, accompanied by additional officers, for the purpose of raising a local regiment, and was then within a few leagues of Monterey, on his march to that port; and that a vessel was hourly expected, with military stores, cannon, &c., for the defence of Monterey.)

The party that landed was composed of seamen and marines from both ships, amounting to 150 rank and file—the marines under the immediate command of Lieutenant G. W. Robbins, assisted by Mr. H. H. Lockwood, professor of mathematics on board this ship, who acted as adjutant.

The seamen from this ship were commanded by Lieutenant J. L. Lardner, the first lieutenant, assisted by Lieutenants D. F. Dulany and L. B. Avery, and Midshipmen W. H. Wilcox, S. R. Franklin, A. C. Jackson, B. W. Stevenson, and E. T. Carmichael. The seamen from the Cyane were led by Lieutenant B. F. Shattuck, assisted by Midshipmen A. F. Warley, W. D. Whiting, J. A. Forrest, and M. P. Jones; the whole under the command of Commander C. K. Stribling, who was attended by Purser J. D. Gibson, of the Cyane, and Assistant Surgeon R. J. Maxell, of this ship. Captain James Armstrong, of this ship, who acted as commissioner to treat with the Mexican authorities, was also with the party on shore, and had a general supervision over all persons and things on shore; and it affords me the highest satisfaction to be able to assure you that every thing was conducted in the most orderly manner,

and that, to this day, no word of complaint has been uttered against any man of the party debarked.

The afternoon and night of the 20th passed in perfect quietness, and the next day I visited the town and fortifications over which our national flag was now flying. Again I was told that there was very late and pacific news from Mexico in Monterey. I sent my secretary, Mr. H. La Reintrie, and the chaplain, the Rev. T. B. Bartow, to hunt for it; and in the office of the Mexican commissary, one of the commissioners who had negotiated the articles of capitulation, several bundles of Mexican papers as late as the 4th of August were found, without their envelopes having been broken.

The general tone of the articles relating to the United States in those papers was pacific, and the certainty that Mexico had not commenced hostilities against the United States up to the 22nd of August was established by private commercial letters from Mazatlan. This information induced me to suppose that the crisis in our controversy with Mexico had terminated favorably, or, at any rate, that war had not yet commenced. I also came to the conclusion that the reported cession of the Californias to England could not be true, from the efforts Mexico is making to strengthen herself in this quarter. The Mexican newspapers likewise contradict the rumor of cession with warmth, and even advert to Mr. Monroe's declarations, as regards the establishment of new colonies on the American continent by European Powers, as an insurmountable obstacle to a cession, were Mexico ever so much disposed to part with those valuable possessions, of which, however, she has not the least idea.

This change in the aspects of international affairs called for prompt action on my part. The motives and only justifiable grounds for demanding a surrender of the territory were thus suddenly removed, or at least rendered so doubtful as to make it my duty to restore things as I had found them with the least possible delay. I held a short conference with Captain Armstrong and Commander Stribling, the result of which was the tender of retrocession, which, being promptly accepted by the Mexican authorities, was carried into effect at the hour named, with all the honors and ceremony customary or due on such occasions. Subsequently the usual official visits were reciprocated by the respective representatives and officers of the two republics, and it is most gratifying to be able to say that, notwithstanding what has happened since our arrival here, no incident has occurred to interrupt for a single moment the most friendly intercourse between the inhabitants of the town and the officers of the squadron.

As this affair may possibly be the subject of strict scrutiny and severe criticism, both at home and abroad, I beg leave to refer you most respectfully to the accompanying papers [see Nos. 1 and 2, above] upon which I rest my own, and, so far as devolves on me, my coun-

try's justification.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

THOMAS AP C. JONES Commanding Pacific Squadron.

Hon. A. P. Upshur, Secretary of the Navy.

# [ 10 ]

## Navy Department, January 24, 1843.

Sir: Although no official intelligence of the recent occurrences at Monterey has reached this Department, yet the leading facts have been communicated in a form sufficiently authentic to justify and render necessary my immediate action. In the opinion of this Government, it is due to the friendly relations subsisting between the United States and Mexico, and to the respect which every nation owes to the rights of other nations, that you should be recalled from the command of the squadron in the Pacific.

In adopting this course, it is not designed to prejudge the case, nor even to indicate any opinion as to the propriety or impropriety of your conduct in the matter alluded to. That will of course be made the subject of proper inquiry, after your return to the United States, when full justice will be done, as between yourself and your own country. The present order has reference only to the just claims of Mexico on this Government, for such a disavowal of the attack on Monterey as will fully recognise the rights of Mexico, and at the same time place the conduct of this Government in a proper light before the nations of the world.

Commodore Dallas will relieve you as soon as he can conveniently reach the station; and you will return to the United States in such mode as may be most convenient and agreeable to yourself.

I am, respectfully yours,

A. P. UPSHUR

Com. Thos. ap C. Jones,

Commanding Pacific Squadron.

Much additional matter relating to the Monterey episode, especially the ensuing diplomatic correspondence, may be conveniently found in United States Public Documents, Serial No. 422, Doc. No. 166, pp. 1-117. One of the most ridiculous aspects of this opera bouffe is found in the correspondence of General Micheltorena, the recently arrived governor of California. Upon hearing of the attack on Monterey, he wrote to the Secretary of War at Mexico: "I wished myself a thunderbolt, to fly and annihilate the invaders; but 110 leagues intervened between me and them, and my forces are all infantry. I nevertheless spent the night in preparing measures . . . for the purpose of exciting the patriotism of the people of the country. . . . North and south of my headquarters every thing was in motion; and the fever of patriotism which I excited with energetic force beat quickly. . . . [The next day] we marched for two hours, during which my soul was rapt in ecstacies at the flattering prospect of a speedy and certain victory, in a war as just as national on our side, when another extraordinary courier brought me the communications . . . by which his excellency Senor Alvarado, the military commandant of Monterey, and the chief of the naval forces of the United States, inform me of the evacuation of that place. . . . So his excellency Mr. \* \* \* \* did not not choose to wait for our arrival as a hostile force! and the feelings of my heart, which were thence transmitted to those of all the officers, soldiers, and inhabitants of the country, were at once of grief and joy, of regret and pleasure, of contentment and disappointment; but Providence has so willed it. . . ." The demands for reparations that he sent to Commodore Jones show an equally eloquent imagination. Although he had only three hundred to six hundred troops in his command, and although they were on the march to Monterey only two hours before the news of retrocession arrived, he demanded: "Fifteen hundred complete infantry dresses, to replace those of nearly one-half of the Mexican forces, which have been ruined in the violent march and the continued rains, while they were on the way to recover the port thus invaded. . . . Fifteen thousand dollars, the amount of the expenses incurred from the general alarm created in this department by his invasion and occupation of the port of Monterey, as also a complete set of military musical instruments, in place of those ruined on this occasion."

The Mexican Government made the most of this American aggression, so that nothing short of Jones's removal from the command of the squadron was necessary in order to bring about reconciliation. Owing to the slowness of communication, however, Jones did not reach the United States until the summer of 1844. That the government was not displeased with the vigilance of this officer is shown by the fact

that his recall was merely nominal. On March 1, 1845, the Secretary of the Navy wrote to Commodore Jones, then at his home near Prospect Hill, Virginia: "It gives me pleasure to assure you that your remaining without employment since your return to the United States has not been the result of any displeasure of the President of the United States, or of this department. The President has authorized me to say to you that in those circumstances of your conduct while in command of the Pacific Squadron, which induced your recall, on explanation, he perceives evidences of an ardent zeal in the service of your Country, and a devotion to what you deemed to be your duty, regardless of personal consequences, which entitle you to anything but censure from your Government. Ample atonement having been made to Mexico for your acts complained of, there has been no disposition to visit you with punishment of any description for conduct actuated by such elevated principles of duty. Of this you were apprized immediately after your return." (For other treatments of the Monterey episode from different avenues of approach, see R. G. Cleland, A History of California: the American Period, New York, 1923, pp. 147-152; E. S. Maclay, A History of the United States Navy, New York, 1902, II, 144-146; and J. H. Smith, The War with Mexico, New York, 1919, I, 68-69.)

War was not actually declared with Mexico until May, 1846. Monterey was captured again, this time with all due authorization, by the Pacific Squadron under Commodore Sloat, aided by the land expedition under Major John Charles Frémont and Kit Carson. At the close of the war Commodore Jones was again placed in command of the Pacific Squadron, on October 13, 1847. At Monterey, on October 19, 1848, in delivering to the officers and men of his squadron a lecture for restoring discipline in the navy after the war, he took occasion to refer indirectly to his attack on Monterey, which had occurred in this same bay exactly six years before. In defending the old naval usage that sanctioned the interpretation (of the Articles of War) that all orders of a superior officer must be obeyed by inferiors, whether legal or illegal, he said: "A circumstance . . . occurred on this station within a few years past, some of the actors in which are now present. The Commander of the U.S. Squadron on this Station, for reasons satisfactory to himself at least, directed a hostile descent upon a town and portion of a neighboring state in peace and amity with the United States. A large force was landed, the town and fort capitulated, and the American flag took the place of the Mexican which the Commodore had caused to be struck. For this act, unauthorized by the Government, and of course unlawful, the Commander who gave the order was called to account, but no questions were ever asked of the inferiors who executed the order, 'Why did ye this?' or 'Why did ye

not that?'... The Superior Officer... alone was called to account for the unlawfulness of the order given by him and was justified by the high motives, or public considerations which actuated him, predicated upon facts or circumstances which he was not at liberty to divulge, much less bound to communicate to any one under him." (Log Book, U. S. S. Ohio, October 19, 1848.)]

#### APPENDIX C

[Extracts from the Manuscript "Journal of a Three Years' Cruise," Kept by William H. Meyers on Board the Cyane, 1841-1844, Now in Possession of the Honorable Nelson B. Gaskill of Washington.]

#### I. THE ATTACK ON MONTEREY

Monterey. Wednesday, Oct. 19, 1842. Stiff breezes. Land in sight. Filling grape and musket balls for 9 pounder. A communication from the Commodore; all hands to hear it read. "We are now approaching Monterey in the territory of Mexico, the enemy of our country, whose flag it is our duty to strike, and hoist our own in its place—" [this] together with a few spangled banners, eagles, glory, and soldiers, a little mercy and american seamen filled up the harrangue. So it appears we are going to have a fight. Bueno! 12 dinner. A barque standing out. Commodore hoisted the English rear-admiral-of-the-white's flag; we hoisted the English white also. The barque hoisted Mexican colors. She was boarded by the frigates cutter. She raced forward. Signal to give chase. We crawled fast to windward of her-cleared away a gun-the frigates cutter pulling for her. She hove back. Boarded and took her; filled away. Her name the Jovencoisen Gupuscuana [Joven Guipúzcoana], laden with hides and tallow and \$100,000 dollars in specie. Glorious! Came to an anchor in 10 fathom water. Sent a boat ashore for the unconditional surrender of the fort, town, and

shipping—there being I barque we have, I brig, and one schooner, the ship Fama [Fame] of Sandwich islands, lying here. Hoisted a white flag of truce. 18 hours granted for deliberation. Got springs on our cables and hawsers on the quarters; got up the battle lanthorns, axes, spunges, and rammers in fighting trim; cleared away the guns; grape, round, and cannister on deck; sanded the decks; hoisted out the first cutter; match[es] ready, &c. Strong lights at the fort. At 8 reported the battery in fighting order. Ordered to be in readiness at a minutes warning. At 8 turned in for a nap, before I am popped out of this world.

Thursday, Oct. 20. Foggy. Opened the arm chests, distributing pistols, muskets, and ball cartridges. Filled marines cartouch boxes. At 1/2 past 9 five boats from the frigate and 4 from us, commanded by Captn Stribling, containing about 70 marines and near 200 seamen and officers, pulled for the landing. Beat to quarters and hauled down the flag of truce. In about 20 minutes after landing, the Mexican flag was hauled down and United States flag hoisted with 3 cheers. The frigate and our ship saluted the flag with 13 guns each. The fort returned it. Loaded the guns. Prises: 1 schooner, 2 barques, and a brig. The vessels, prises, ordered to unbend sails. An officer sent on board the schooner, she being a government cruiser. Sentinels on shore at the fort and town. Lieut Delany [Dulany], Commandante of the fort; Capt Stribling, Military Governor; Lockwood, professor of Mathematics of the frigate, Adjt general; Mr. Clar [?], Secty of west California. The fort mounted 13 guns and one not good for much, making 14. Plenty of powder, iron and copper shot, round, grape, and cannister. The guns are now trained inland. A report of 500 men on their march for the fort reached us. 70 marines left on shore with officers. The fort dubbed Fort Catesby—bah!

Friday, Oct. 21. Fine weather. Detachments going on shore. The Commodore visited the fort. Saluted with 13 guns. 12 dinner. News from the Commodore: there being no war, is going to surrender the place. At 4 the Mexican flag was hoisted at the fort, and the frigate and our ship saluted with 13 guns each. The fort returned it. The schooner and a brig did the same. So perish all my greatness, adieu all my visions of prise money. I am dumb henceforth. Loaded the guns in silence. Reembarked the Ex Gov<sup>nr.,</sup> Secty, Marines and seamen. Mr. Jones, Mid<sup>n.,</sup> & Corporal Angel drunk. At 8 reported battery. So ends the Capture.

#### 2. WAR BETWEEN PERU AND BOLIVIA

Callao. Tuesday, May 31, 1842. Fine weather. Adieu to the bum boat and all its gorgeous display of culinary nick nacks. The American Squadron, consisting of the U. States, Cyane, St Louis, Yorktown, and Shark [gets underweigh]. . . . Speaking of Peru, the country at the time of our lying here was unfortunately beset with difficulties on every side. An unlucky expedition into Bolivia, headed by the president, General Gamarra [Agustín Gamarra] in person, was defeated by the Bolivians under their President, Genl. Boliviana [José Ballivián]; and, being exasperated by the treachery of their neighbors, they forthwith invaded Peru and were successful in almost every battle. The capture of Tacna-Arica, and other towns of lesser note encouraged them

to proceed. Flushed with success, they resolved to continue untill they had conquered the city of Kings, the Sepulchre of Pisarro [Pizarro] the great murderer, or in other words Lima, the capital. At the battle of Puna [Puno], Gamarra was again defeated, and shortly afterwards was assassinated by his immediate attendants. [He was killed at the battle of Ingavi, November 18, 1841.] The Bolivians, leaving a few troops in Puna [Puno], marched for the ancient city of Cusco [Cuzco], the former residence of the Incas, containing now the mint of Peru and of course a valuable booty. Here we shall leave them and return to Lima.

The authorities, civil, invested general Menendez with the supreme authority untill the election should take place between himself and General La Fuente, then commander-in-chief of the forces on the frontier acting against the Bolivians. During this time war was declared between Ecuador and Peru. The government was thus plunged into new difficulties. An ambitious soldier, General Torico[?], to [ok] the reins in his own hands upon his hearing of the Election of La Fuente; proclaimed martial law; [and] imprisoned Menendez, from which, however, he escaped and fled on board a french barque, where he was not pursued, either because they did not know, or that he was too insignificant to create much trouble. In the meanwhile Torico at the head of 5000 troops marched out of Lima to meet La Fuente, who, having come to terms with Bolivia, was marching with the combined armies of both Nations towards Lima. Of course a battle is expected daily.

In such a state of affairs, of course, vagabonds thrive; and, upon the instant these affairs took place, the road from Callao to Lima was infested with montaneros or banditti. It made no difference to them who they plundered. They were not party politicians. They levied Contributions from both sides and thought that by a strict impartiality they would merit the patronage of travellers. In fact, they had got so outrageous as almost to give formal notice that if a person wished to save himself a terrible beating, if not worse, he must have at least 3 doubloons about his person-Aristocratical Villains! I saw one of this class of gentlemen frequently. His name was Taylor-was originally from New York. He had got adrift from a Whaleman, learned the language, and, being a smart, active fellow-loving rum and hating work-became an apt comrade to such a desirable community. Having in connection with several others surprised and murdered a party bearing government money, they were pursued and taken. A handsome number were shot immediately. Himself and two more were imprisoned with the gratifying intelligence that they would be served in like manner when circumstances would permit. He lay for eleven months in the castle of Callao. By applying to the American Minister and representing his case as an unfortunate citizen of the United States, he was fortunate enough to induce him to make an application for his release, and his two cronies also, upon condition that they left the country. They were then sent on board of our ship, and a more villainous combination of countenances I never saw before. They acknowledged the murder, and Taylor said the money was buried on the Lima road and he intended to try and get it. 2 of them we shipp'd on board a whaleman. Taylor refused to ship, and, having heard that he would not be troubled if he went on shore, he left the ship and moves amongst the gambling and dance houses as usual. He was a fine formed athletic negro, had a mild persuasive voice and a keen eye, [and] had a pair of very passable mustachios. He wore a blue cap with a red band, white shirt and pantaloons tied with a crimson sash, and over all a parti-coloured poncho. He was the beau ideal of a black villain. I saw him frequently ashore. He was always very polite and gave me some short sketches of his life and adventures which I was pleased to listen to. When I asked him what he was doing for a living, he smiled and said that his business generally commenced after sundown. I told him I was afraid he would be brought up with a round turn. He laughed and said it was likely.

I became very well acquainted here among some families by acting as a surgeon, having a good case of instruments and a partial acquaintance with medicine. I was in great demand particularly with La Senorita Annette, Eunia, Victranetta, Paraquita, &c., &c. Every one here is fond of Dancing and music, and into whatever house you go you invariably find a guitar or 2. Fandangas, Sambo Cuecas, Cachuchas, and country dances are in great repute, and some waltz. I have often viewed them dancing, and, although the dances generally [are not] voluptuous, yet the Sambo Cueca, when danced as it should be, is very Lascivious—even disgusting to me, although I am not over scrupulous. Fruit of all kinds are plenty. . . . Fish are high, as are groceries and dry goods. Medicine is also high and

doctors few and good for nothing. What an opening for me in this vale of tears!

### 3. Shore-Leave in Peru and Chile

IQUAQUE [IQUIQUE], PERU. February 18, 1842. At 12 dinner. . . . Went on shore for the first time in this place this voyage, landing at the mole. The guard presented arms as our excelencies Don Guillermo Henrique M [Wm. H. Meyers] and Don H Brown placed our imperial feet upon the extreme point of the mole. Groups of toil-worn soldados were scattered about, some smoking or amusing themselves in the best manner they could in so deserted a place, at the doors of the principal houses, the officers quarters, Custom house, corners of the streets, and look-out stations. Sentrys were pacing with slow and measured step, and, as we passed, they would bring their muskets to a present whilst we touch'd our caps and passed on. Poor fellows, they looked like the breaking up of a hard winter and, as I learned, had experienced a severe campaign. We wandered towards the Cathedral to see what impression the Tungay [Peruvian] Sloop of War's guns had made, and found 13 twenty-four pound shot holes in the face of the building, which had done no material damage owing to the distance they had been fired and the softness of the wall, which was built of a species of brick called dobras. We then introduced ourselves to many ladies with as little ceremony as we could, amongst whom Rosetta, Antionetta, and Chipeta are as drops of dew to the parched violet -so are they to my anxious bosom. On returning to a place labeled English Hotel in large letters, we met one of the Bolivian staff. He insisted on our going to his

quarters. We found him to be an intelligent, rattlebrained fellow, more fond of fighting than praying. He explained everything to us, gave us an account of the campaign, their reasons for invading Peru, &c. . . . He introduced us also to about twenty more officers, by whom we were welcomed in military style. The Band, composed of about 30 different instruments, was put in motion. Wine passing freely, we exchanged tokens of friendsh[ip] and remembrance. A dance was proposed, and away we went. I expect I did not make a very graceful appearance in their beautiful dances, but they being, as well as myself, overcome partly with the miasmatic influence of the atmosphere, did not perceive it. Every few minutes we would freshen the nip. Of course we became considerably elevated. We embraced each other in a drunken phrensy, cut buttons of [off] our coats to remember each other. As for me, I was so infernal dumb they wrote their names down for me. I yelled, "Viva Boliviana [Ballivián?]!" They caught it up. And, if straining my throat and drinking that celebrated chieftain's health will have any effect, he will certainly live 800 years. I began to imagine at length that I was the long sought for Perpetual motion. Brown's face gleamed amidst the swarthy countenances like some lurid meteor, casting a crimson glare upon his shirt collar and surrounding objects. Finally, we all adjourned towards the mess room on very amicable terms with each other. The Governor entered shortly afterwards. We were introduced and invited to dinner. I sat next the governor; Brown next to me. I did not feel much like eating, but I done the best I could. I had an indistinct wavering idea in my head that I was drunk, and I think I was not far short of the mark. Whilst exchanging civilities with the governor, I was suddenly taken ill. I felt my time had come. I rose from the table, made some handsome apologies with a very wavering motion, and left the room. As soon as I felt the breeze without, the sickness left me, but the inebriation continued. For fear of observation I endeavored to put on a fierce scowl-in which I expect I failed-and walked swiftly for the mole. But, alas for the instability of human affairs! Before I had proceeded three hundred yards, I was compelled to admit that if I attempted to reach that place I must roll there. Seeing a house open on my left, I marched in. I spoke to her, told her I was very tired, and took a seat. I then proceeded to explain, in which I spoke more dutch than Spanish, and that so thick that she looked alarmed. During this sudden display of rhetoric I tumbled over like a stuck pig, and lay there fast asleep, for how long I cannot say exactly; but I was finally awakened by Mead, the Carpenter, who asked me what was the matter, telling me a woman had called him in telling him a friend of his was there dead (dead drunk she meant). He entered to see what unfortunate friend of his had departed this life and found your humble servant. As soon as I awoke, I felt much refreshed and turned to make apologies to the lady of the mansion, but she had fled and left me in full possession. I was not sorry for that, so I arose and walked toward the mole. As I neared the landing, the governor and his suite were shoving off in the gig. Some of my boon Companions were there, too, crazy drunk. One of them jumped overboard. As I did not feel disposed for another caper, I bowed as I went on board and felt myself as well as ever. Found a salute of 13 guns had been fired to the governor, and one shotted for his satisfaction. . . .

COQUIMBO, CHILI. July 29, 1842. . . . Old Te Cardonas insisted on my visiting him at Serena, looked at my pictures, and was perfectly crazy for me to paint his daughters' miniatures, and whom he introduced me to. I promised every thing to such beautiful girls. The day that I was going we had general quarters, so that I sent Bones in my place; but he wouldn't answer, and I had to go another time. . . . During one of my excursions to Serena I became acquainted with Captn. Bruce of the English barque Jessie, and, after discussing a few unimportant matters, we agreed to scour the town. We visited every house where there was a glimpse of a petticoat. After having been entertained with music, dancing, &c., we would march to another. In this manner we visited a dozen or more. At length, as we passed the front of one and looked across the courtyard, we saw 3 or 4 actually beautiful girls. We bowed as politely as such aquatic animals could possibly do. The [v] returned the salutation with 3 of the sweetest smiles I ever beheld and beckoned us to enter. We did so and crossed the courtvard with as dignified an air as possible, endeavoring to give them as elevated an opinion of our rank as possible. In a magnificent strut we entered the drawing room. The ladies welcomed us with easy politeness. Whilst Bruce was ingratiating himself, I took a furtive glance about the room. It was about 50 by 30 feet square and 18 feet high, plastered and painted, the floor unlike the Spanish houses generally whose floors are brick or earth—this was carpeted. 2 pier tables, a piano forte,

portraits upon the walls, and a pair of splendid candelabras led me to suppose that for once I had dropped into the wrong box. In a few words I gave him [Bruce] my opinion on the situation, but he appeared to think otherwise. I soon became engaged in conversation. . . . A servant entered with Liquors, fruit, &c. We were invited and boarded him in the smoke. Shortly after, we rose to leave, exchanged cards, had a pressing invitation to call again, and, after bowing and scraping until I had lost the use of my limbs I left. . . . The next place I came too at was the scene of my future griefs. They invited us in. The gallant Captain attached himself to one, and I fancied the other. She was a beautiful creature, just seventeen. By singing, drawing, &c., I sweetened my way to her heart, or she led me to think so at any rate, and I tumbled head over heels in love. I spent most of my time here when I went on shore. They had chinganos, a species of dance similar to the Sambo Cueca, but a genteeler one by far. It has none of the indecent movements or lascivious gestures of the former. At these Chinganas they hand round Caliente, a mixture of hot water, rum, and sugar, and you are expected to drink with any one that offers. If a lady drink your health 4 times and you should not hear her by reason of the music or noise and she acquaints you with the fact, you are bound to drink a large glass to her; and that is no trifling job, for they contain near half a gallon, which would swipe me entirely -but what will not beauty do. Many an evening have I watched the fairy form of M—a glide over the smooth floor to the enlivening tones of the Harp and guitar, and, as she moved in graceful maze, I was tempted to believe that she was a being of more than mortal mould. But these happy days could not last for ever. Letters were written and answered in their beautiful language. In fact, I only lived when near her. Oft have I spent the pleasant afternoon with her on one side and a glass of Caliente on the other, her sister playing upon the guitar and harp, and I could revel in the intoxicating bliss of rum and sugar. But imagine my despair at being forced to leave. Tongue cannot paint the maddening despair when I was forced to depart. I rushed from the house, waved a long, long adieu with a very handsome embroidered white silk handkerchief which I had bought expressly for the occasion, and scoured along the beach, cursing ships, sea, and everything, and again praying that some mountaineer might shoot me out of the saddle so that I might have an excuse not to go on board. But unkind fate willed it otherwise. Not a mountaineer shewed himself, and I arrived on board in inglorious safety—and utter despair!

### 4. Life at Honolulu, Oahu, Sandwich Islands

Honolulu, Oahu. Thursday, Nov. 2, 1843. That the natives were many years ago in a comparatively happy state cannot be doubted, but since the introduction of whites and missionaries they have learned but few virtues and more vices. At the present time but little can be said about them. They are generally a quiet, inoffensive people, and are kept in utter subjection by their own chiefs and missionary laws. Their huts are generally made of thatch of the native Tí plants. They are without exception neat and clean. These are again divided into different departments by hanging screens of tappa, or native cloth, between the rafters, from

which they drop to the floor. The floors are invariably of earth but covered thickly with matting. Their food consists of Beef, Pork, Mutton, goats, dogs, fouls, fish, &c. Their vegetable diet is Tarra, Poe [poi], Yams, Bread fruit, sweet and white potatoes, &c., &c.

Whilst the ship was lying here, I have been in the habit of wandering on foot and horseback among these beautiful villages, plains, valleys, &c. which are here found in such abundance. . . . Satiety breeds disgust. I became satisfied, as Solomon says, after all it is but vanity and vexation of Spirit. During one of my perambulations, however, I was rendered able to confute this saying of the wise king. To the Southward of the town of Honolulu lies a grove of tall cocoa nut trees. In front rolls the deep ocean, and on the back the towering mountains of Roaahuanui[?]. A few huts covered by cocoas here are owned by the female chief, Haheeo Renui. I became acquainted with her, and whilst inquiring the customs and manners of the Natives, suffered myself to become the victim of the Seducing wiles of the beautiful Maria Hilia. She was a beautiful creature—a being of more than earthly mould. She was moulded with exquisite taste, and about 14 years of age-a putapaa or virgin. In a fit of passion I purchased her from her father. She was also enamoured of (my dollars) I suppose. From the time I first saw her she was my idolitrado negrita. I gased upon her in admiration—infatuation you may call it, but it rendered me happy. Her complexion was a clear olive; her hair fell in natural curls, around her full and beautiful shoulders, dark as the ravens plumes; her eve was a jet set in a sea of liquid enamel—she is a Houri!

With a flute I lounged of afternoons in her savage boudoir and drank in the mild accents of her silvery voice. Upon my arrival at the Hut my coat and vest were taken and hung carefully up. The Father took my boots to clean. The Sisters sat by me with fans to fan me to delicious slumbers. The younger brother held a calabash for me to spit in; the older brought fruit, segars, or whatever I asked for. By playing upon the flute and listening to them upon the same instrument, & hearing them sing, I passed the afternoons and evenings like a King. Such pleasure none but a Philosopher can enjoy. Endeavoring to [be] pleased in this evanescent and fleeting life has been my study, and I now enjoy the benefit of those studies. If rational happiness can be found without mingling with the crowds of religious or moral enthusiasts, I have found it, as near as may be. To content myself with the world as it is, is my motto, and if increasing that happiness by the expenditure of a few dollars can be done, why, let it Vamos! We cannot live long; therefore, enjoy the present and determine to be pleased with everything except men of war. . . .

Nov. 5.... Went on shore.... Found my dear M—in tears.... I now feel really attached to her, after having passed the afternoon with her. Had a trying scene. Bade all farewell. Received from her a ring and riband. Came on board with a fit of despondency.

Nov. 6... Standing along the land. Watched her hut till it was no longer visible; then the grove when that was gone, the Mountains, the island, untill the distant blue faded altogether....

[William H. Meyers was born on February 13, 1815, the son of Thomas Meyers, a Philadelphia accomptant. He enlisted in the United States Navy on July 27, 1841, as a gunner on the U. S. S. Cyane, which sailed from Norfolk November 1, 1841. For the next three years the Cyane was part of the Pacific Squadron under Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones, returning to Norfolk on October 1, 1844. After a leave of absence for three months Meyers reported to Captain Aulick at Washington, received his warrant, and was stationed in the Naval Laboratory there, working on rockets, signals, etc. From February 12, 1846, he was in charge; on the latter date the Laboratory was destroyed by an explosion.

1. The frigate United States is celebrated as the "Neversink" in Herman Melville's White-Jacket; or The World In a Man-Of-War (1850). In the present writer's forthcoming volume, Melville in the South Seas, several chapters are devoted to this part of his career.

According to F. S. Hill (Twenty-Six Historic Ships, New York and London, 1903, p. 199) the frigate United States was the first built under the Act of 1796 (the Constellation was actually completed first), at a cost of practically \$300,000. It was launched at Philadelphia on July 10, 1797. S. R. Franklin, who was a midshipman on the present cruise, gives a more picturesque description in his Memories of a Rear-Admiral, etc., New York and London [1898], p. 25: "She was known among the old seamen as the States Frigate, and had the reputation of being the swiftest ship in the Navy, and perhaps in the world. She was not what might be called a pretty ship in these days, and did not sit as gracefully on the water as the Constitution, for her best sailing point was when she was trimmed by the head, which detracts very much from the appearance of any ship; but she was so good in all other respects that her ugliness was forgotten."

For an account of a record trip from Monterey to Honolulu, see p. 45, above, and note 42, below; and for her part in two races, see pp. 63-64, 66, above, and note 90, below. Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones likewise testifies to her speed in a report to the Secretary of the Navy (see *U. S. Public Documents*, Serial No. 422, Doc. No. 166,

pp. 105-106).

See also Nathaniel Ames, A Mariner's Sketches, Providence, 1830, pp. 192, 205, and 236-237, who tells of her speed in winning a race with the Brandywine, which relieved her on the Pacific Station in 1827; he says that she attained a top speed of 288 miles a day. In recording a race with the Spanish privateer Moriendra, Ames explains the curious trick that was used to increase the sailing speed of the United States: "The chase which was right before the wind lasted all day. For some time we did not gain upon her, owing to our ship being somewhat out of trim, a defect which we remedied in a manner something similar to that practised by Captain Staunch in 'Sailors and Saints,' not exactly by piping down the hammocks, and sending the watch to bed 'with thirty-two pound shot for a bedfellow'; but every man took a thirty-two pound shot in his hands and went on the forecastle, as we had found by experience that the ship sailed best with her nose down in the water, like a pig rooting in a gutter."

Herman Melville tells in White-Jacket; or The World In a Man-Of-War, London, 1922, p. 342, how the United States was discovered to be the "fleetest keeled craft sailing under the American long-pennant." In his account of the man-of-war race out of Rio de Janeiro (see p. 138, r.ote 90, below) he makes use of this device of "trimming by the head," very much as Ames describes it, to point an attack on naval abuses. (All references to Melville's works are to the Standard Edition by Constable and Company, Ltd., London, 1922-24.)

- 2. The caption in square brackets here, and in half a dozen other places, is supplied. A slight rearrangement of the first few pages of the "Abstract" has been necessary in order to restore the chronological sequence.
- 3. The United States, under command of Captain Stephen Decatur, won considerable glory at the very outset of the War of 1812 by capturing H.B.M. Ship Macedonian, Captain John S. Carden, on Oct. 12, 1812, after a hard fought battle. The following May, however, the whole of Commander John Rodgers's squadron was driven into New London by a powerful British fleet, and the United States and its prize were kept bottled up there until the end of the war. A full account of this naval engagement from the English point of view can be found in William Laird Clowes, et al., The Royal Navy: A History, London, 1901, VI, 41-47, 62; and from the American side in Edgar S. Maclay, A History of the United States Navy, New York, 1902, I, 364-394. See also F. S. Hill, op. cit., pp. 199 ff. S. R. Franklin (op. cit., p. 25) adds that the long twenty-four-pound guns on the main deck of the United States, in 1842, had been taken from the captured British frigate and had crowns moulded on the upper part of the breech.

Samuel Leech, one of the Macedonian's crew who was captured by the United States, gives an eye-witness account of this battle in Thirty Years from Home, or A Voice from the Main Deck, Boston, 1847 (15th ed.), pp. 127-150, which seems to have furnished Melville with many of the details used in his version in White-Jacket (see pp. 391-398). In recounting the voyage of the United States and her prize from the scene of action to New London, he explains the origin of the "Old Wagon" as a nickname for the former: "Notwithstanding the patched-up condition of the Macedonian, she was far superior, in a sailing capacity, to her conqueror. The United States had always been a dull sailor, and had been christened by the name of the Old Wagon. Whenever a boat came alongside of our frigate, and the boatswain's mate was ordered to 'pipe away' the boat's crew, he used to sound his shrill call on the whistle, and bawl out, 'Away, Wagoners, away,' instead of 'away, United States men, away.' This piece of pleasantry used to be rebuked by the officers, but in a manner that showed they enjoyed the joke. They usually replied, 'Boatswain's mate, you rascal, pipe away United States men, not Wagoners. We have no wagoners on board of a ship.' Still, in spite of rebuke, the joke went on, until it grew stale by repetition." Even though the *United States* was subsequently discovered to be the fastest rather than the slowest sailer in the navy, when "trimmed by the head" (see note 1, above), the nickname of the "Old Wagon" stuck to her.

4. Another nickname for the frigate United States.

5. Since there has been considerable dispute and disagreement among naval historians about the early history of naval uniforms, it seems appropriate to clear up the matter now, once and for all. S. R. Franklin (op. cit., pp. 35-36) says that there was a general indifference about uniforms at the time of his first cruise, 1842-43; he adds that frock coats and swallow-tails were no longer worn by the officers, but that high silk hats were still sometimes to be seen, though the custom was dying out; and among seamen gray trousers could be worn with the blue jackets.

The Regulations for the Uniform and Dress of the Navy of the United States [Washington], 1841, p. 13, however, gives a more impressive picture of the state of discipline at this period. They provide as follows: "The outside clothing of the petty officers, seamen, and ordinary seamen, landsmen and boys, for muster, shall consist of blue woolen frocks, with white linen or duck collars and cuffs, or blue cloth jacket and trousers, blue vests where vests are worn, black hat, black handkerchief and shoes, when the weather is cold: when the weather is warm, it shall consist of white frocks and trousers, and black or white hats as the commander may direct, having regard to the convenience and comfort of the crew, black handkerchiefs and shoes. The collars and breasts of the frocks to be lined or faced with blue cotton cloth, stitched with white thread or cotton."

Until recently it was thought that there were no authorized uniforms for seamen before the passage of this regulation in 1841. But the researches of the Honorable Nelson B. Gaskill of Washington, D. C., in the archives of the Naval Records and Library carry the date back at least twenty years; and he has very kindly put at my disposal the results of his investigation. At even so early a time as the establishment of the Revolutionary Navy, there was a formal regulation for officers' uniforms and for the entire Marine Service. And though there was no similar regulation of the everyday dress of ordinary seamen until 1841, there was an official uniform for seamen which was required to be worn on formal occasions, as the following notes will show. Competitive offers of bids on "slop" clothing were solicited by the Navy Commissioners in 1820, as is evidenced by a letter from Mrs.

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Mogagnos of Norfolk to Commodore John Rodgers, Dec. 20, 1820, offering to furnish pea-jackets at \$5.00 and red vests at \$2.00; and by a letter from John Dyer of Boston to the Board of Navy Commissioners, Jan. 6, 1821, sending the following samples of clothing as requested: "Cloth Pea Jackets, Cloth Jackets and Trousers, Red Vescoat, Flannel Shirt, Flannel Drawers, Duck Banyans, Duck Frocks, Duck Trousers, Black Silk Hdkf., Stockings, and Shoes." The list tabulated, from these and other bids, by the Navy Commissioners in Jan., 1823, added "Felt Hats." Finally, a more complete list, with lower prices, was offered by Daniel D. Brodhead of Boston in a letter to the Naval Agent at Washington, Sept. 25, 1826, which is marked "Accepted," Oct. 8, 1826: "Blue Cloth Jackets, \$4.25; Blue Cloth Trousers, \$3.50; Duck Frocks, \$.73; Flannel Shirts, \$1.12; Flannel Drawers, \$.65; Shoes, \$1.10; Blankets, \$1.70; Hats, \$.58; Stockings, \$.38; Pea Jackets, \$4.50; Black Silk Hdkfs., \$.40; Duck Trousers, \$.64; Duck Bannians, \$.80; Red Vests, \$1.56; Hair Mattresses, \$3.75; Low Mattresses, \$2.30." On non-formal occasions, however, the seamen could wear whatever they pleased.

Nathaniel Ames (op. cit., pp. 118, 201, 258) indicates that a regulation uniform consisting of a blue jacket and white trousers was required, at least on Sundays, as early as his enlistment on the frigate United States in 1823-27. Melville also has numerous references to uniforms that tally with the above list (see White-Jacket, pp. 4, 33, 201, 366, 370, 463, 475), but his statement that they were prison made ("purser rigged and parish damned") seems to be without foundation. The illustrations in William H. Meyers's "Journal of a Three Years Cruise in the Cyane, 1842-44," in the possession of the Honorable Nelson B. Gaskill, confirm these notes. (See, especially, the illustration, "Punishment," Plate I. This is the earliest known eyewitness drawing either of uniforms or of corporal punishment in the United States Navy.)

6. Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones, in command of the Pacific Squadron. For an account of his part in the War of 1812, see Clowes, op. cit., VI, 148-150, and Maclay, op. cit., II, 40; and for an account of his attack on Monterey see pp. 40-44, above, and Appendices B and C, 1. See, also, S. R. Franklin, op. cit., p. 20, and Melville, White-Jacket, pp. 23-27.

7. John Strother Pendleton was appointed chargé d'affaires to Chili, 1841-44. From 1852 to 1854 he was United States Minister to the Argentine Confederation. He died in 1868 (Lamb's Biographical Dictionary of the United States, Boston, 1903, VI, 203).

8. Captain James Armstrong. S. R. Franklin (op. cit., p. 18) describes his first acquaintance with him as follows: "My new Com-

manding officer [was] Captain James Armstrong, a stalwart Kentuckian, about six feet tall and large in proportion. I remember he wore a sort of leather cap adorned with a gold band with ragged edges. It was a slight thing to remember, but the grotesqueness of his whole appearance made an impression upon my youthful mind which has never been effaced." For Melville's picture of him as "Captain Claret," a heavy drinker, see White-Jacket, pp. 27-28, 139, 192 (compare the anecdote on pp. 45-46, above, and notes 43 and 45, below).

9. Edward W. Callahan, List of Officers of the Navy of the United States and of the Marine Corps from 1775 to 1900, New York, 1901, p. 49: "Bartow, Theodore B. Chaplain, 8 Sept., 1841. Died 18 May,

1869."

10. Lieutenant William H. Ball. Callahan, op. cit., p. 38: "Ball, Wm. H. Midn., 1 Apr., 1828. Passed Mdn., 14 June, 1834. Lieut., 25 Feb., 1841. Died, 13 Sept., 1861."

11. These lines are not to be found in any of the standard dictionaries of quotations. Perhaps they are too badly garbled to be located;

perhaps they are the work of the ship's scribe himself.

- 12. In White-Jacket, pp. 193-197, Melville gives an account of divine service on board the "Neversink" which, from a purely pictorial point of view, is very similar to this. Yet, in other respects, the same scene viewed through Melville's disillusioned eyes is far different from this naïve and unexceptionable picture. Melville complains that the men were driven to service against their wishes and their creedal beliefs; he ridicules the sermon as transcendental in tone and hence unsuited to the sailor's needs; and he concludes with the sharp question: "How can it be expected that the religion of peace should flourish in an oaken castle of war?"
- 13. All efforts to locate this quatrain and the couplet on p. 25 have been unavailing. There is no good reason why they should not be ascribed to the author of the "Abstract," for they are in the same conventional style of fine writing which he employs throughout. Pico Ruivo, the highest summit on the island, might very naturally have attracted his eye as a fit subject for poetic composition. The couplet seems to be an effort to imitate Julius Mickle's translation of Camoens's Lusiad (compare, e. g., Lusiad, V, Il. 608-609), which, according to Melville, was a favorite with sailors. Melville himself quotes from this translation twice, though his versions are slightly garbled: (1) compare White-Jacket, p. 339, and Lusiad, I, Il. 763-764; (2) White-Jacket, p. 501, and Lusiad, X, Il. 1078-1083.

14. Melville makes frequent reference to this Portuguese Band in White-Jacket. His first long tirade against the institution of flogging is precipitated by a scene of brutal punishment administered to Antone the Portuguese, one of these musicians (ibid., pp. 166-190).

The Log Book of the *United States* for Feb. 11, 1842, records: "Shipped the following musicians from shore, viz.—John Jose, John Verrisime, Francis Barnardo, John Sabino, John Agostinho, John de Silva, John Francis Luze, Francis Pedro Camache, Antonio de Gouvea, Jacinto Valerio."

- 15. The Log Book, Feb. 10, 1842, says that this wine was procured for the United States Minister at Rio de Janeiro, but both Melville (White-Jacket, p. 192) and Franklin (op. cit., p. 27) say that it was for Commodore Jones.
- 16. Dom Pedro II, Emperor of Brazil. Franklin (op. cit., p. 38) says that the officers, including the midshipmen, were presented to the emperor. Since the author of the "Abstract" apparently was not included in this introduction, the implication is that he was not an officer. (See "Una Muger [Mujer] capeando un Toro," Plate II, for a scene of life on shore.)
- 17. Franklin (op. cit., pp. 38-39) gives an interesting account of a pistol duel which took place during shore-leave at Rio between two midshipmen: "In those days, duelling was not punished by dismissal, as it is now. Midshipmen, upon the slightest provocation, would go out and have a crack at each other. One morning while we were in Rio, a party of friends of one side and the other went to see fair play, and witness the fight which took place between two youngsters, one of our mess, and one of the starboard mess. The distance was, I think, ten paces, and the weapons small pocket-pistols. The bullet of one of the youngsters passed unpleasantly near the head of the other, and after firing two or three rounds without hitting, the seconds made the matter up, and the duel was off. But the principals never became friends. I presume there is no reason now why their names should not be mentioned. One was a very clever man of my class, and a messmate, A. C. Jackson [the author of one of the two Midshipmen's Journals used for reference throughout the present volume]; the other, also a classmate, a very good fellow, of the name of Baldwin. . . . The cause which brought about the fight was most trifling, as were the causes of most of the infantile duels of those days. This pocket pistol row, however, resulted in putting a stop to that method of settling difficulties in the Pacific Squadron; the Commander-in-chief, upon hearing of it, which he did soon after it took place, issued what was then known as 'the duelling pledge.' . . . In the end we all signed it but one. . . . I fancy, on the whole, Commodore Jones did well, and may have saved lives which otherwise would have been uselessly sacrificed, for even youngsters did not always fight with pocket pistols." Jackson's Journal is eloquently silent about the whole episode.

The correspondence between Commodore Jones and Abel P. Upshur, Secretary of the Navy, relative to this matter may be found conveniently in U. S. Public Documents, Ser. No. 422, Doc. No. 166, pp. 57-60, 94-97. Of the twenty-eight midshipmen on the frigate United States only twenty-one signed the pledge. Of the seven who failed to sign, one was Fred P. Baldwin, one of the principals. Two others, Thos. B. Shubrick and Geo. H. Hare, resigned from the navy in consequence, the latter giving his reasons eloquently, as follows: "I have been required to sign a paper repugnant to my feelings, and entirely averse to the principles in which I have been educated, with the alternative of losing my liberty for the next two years; thus obliging me to do an act which must inevitably lose me my self-respect, or effectually render me a prisoner for the rest of the cruise, consequently producing the effect of finally making the service of my country abhorrent to me." Secretary Upshur restored the warrants of these two men and censured the conduct of Commodore Jones, holding that the pledge was superfluous, since duelling was prohibited by law, and that the punishment for failing to sign the pledge was illegal.

18. Dom Pedro I was Emperor of Brazil from 1822 until his abdication in 1831. His son, Dom Pedro II, ruled by regency from 1831 to 1840, and in his own right from 1841 until 1889, when he was deposed and the Republic of Brazil was formed (W. S. Robertson, History of the Latin-American Nations, New York, 1922, pp. 156-158, 191-206).

19. See Melville's account of preparations for Cape Horn, White-Jacket, pp. 125-129. Franklin (op. cit., p. 40) gives a picturesque account of how the officers relieved the gloom and monotony of the long cold winter nights as the ship banged about Cape Horn for many days, unable to make headway against the westerly winds: "The wardroom officers had laid in a good supply of Madeira when we were at the Island which produces it, and during the weary hours of the first watch there came up from below a sound of revelry that was very cheering, and helped to speed the tedious hours as we rolled and tossed and tumbled about off the pitch of the stormy Cape." Then he quotes the following from a Canadian boat-song, sung during these revels:

Happy are we, fearless and free,
Rowing our boat o'er the deep blue sea.
Ladies, at best, hold landsmen cheap—
Pull away merrily, all pull cheerily.
Beauty smiles on the sons of the deep—
Pull away merrily, all pull cheerily.
Happy are we, fearless and free,
Rowing our boat o'er the deep blue sea.

(See "Straits of Le Maire, Tierra del Fuego," Plate III, for an impressive picture of Cape Horn.)

20. Diego de Almagro's expedition of discovery to Chili was in 1535-36. It was not until 1540 that an expedition, under Pedro de Valdivia, succeeded in conquering this territory and subjecting it to

Spanish rule (W. S. Robertson, op. cit., pp. 79-80).

- 21. Callao, Peru, was the station in the Pacific for the American Squadron, which consisted at this time of the frigate *United States* (flagship), the sloops of war Yorktown, St. Louis, Cyane, and Dale, the schooner Shark, and the store-ship Relief. So large a squadron was kept by the United States in the Pacific because of American commerce and whaling, and because both the United States and England had their eyes on California, still a possession of Mexico in 1842. (See Plate IV, "Pacific Squadron.")
  - 22. The flagship of Rear-Admiral Richard Thomas, R.N.
- 23. The French maintained a large force in the Pacific at this time in furtherance of their policy of colonizing the various island-groups, such as the Marquesas and the Society Islands, which were seized in 1842.
- 24. Franklin (op. cit., pp. 42-44) gives an interesting contemporary picture of this small but famous seaport. There were few inhabitants and but two hotels. One of these, the Marine Hotel, was frequented by naval officers and midshipmen. It was kept by a Frenchman named Zuderell, who, according to Franklin, was handsome, well-dressed and as polite as a dancing master. He served excellent dinners and kept an orderly house, being somewhat careful of his clientele, although gambling was the principal pastime there. The other hotel, "Davy Howells's," was frequented by the merchant rather than the naval officers. The proprietor was a meek and obsequious landlord with an enormous and imperious Spanish wife. Finally, there was an abundance of grog shops for sailors, a few thread-and-needle stores, and that was all of Callao. For a contemporary account of social and political life at Callao, see the passage from Wm. H. Meyers's Journal, Appendix C, 2, pp. 105-109. (See also Plate V, "A View of Lima from Mount Christoval [Cristobal]"; and Plate VIII, "Cachucha in Peru.")
- 25. Two exploring expeditions from Panama under Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro, 1524 and 1526-28, brought back confirmation of the rumors of a rich Indian empire to the south of Peru. With aid from the Spanish government they then headed an expedition of conquest in 1532. The ambuscade by which the Inca Atahualpa was taken prisoner, and the perfidious strangling of the unfortunate monarch after he had fulfilled the condition of his libera-

ation by "filling the room of his confinement with gold," are sober historical facts. After a triumphal entry into the capital, Cuzco, the conquerors of Peru founded the city of Los Reyes, soon renamed Lima, in Jan., 1535 (W. S. Robertson, op. cit., pp. 74-77).

26. On July 28, 1821, in the great plaza of Lima, José de San Martín formally proclaimed the independence of Peru from Spain, after almost a decade of intermittent warfare (W. S. Robertson, op. cit., pp. 174-184; and Rise of the Spanish-American Republics, New York, 1930, pp. 175-216).

27. Although the revolutionary turmoil and guerrilla warfare of these troubled years are well known, it is interesting to compare the firsthand account of Wm. H. Meyers, especially the story told to him by the highwayman, Taylor, an American negro (see Appendix C, 2, pp. 105-109).

28. Franklin (op. cit., p. 47) says that the Bola de Oro offered good fare, but that the beds were infested with fleas, a condition which prevailed at that time all along the coast of South America (see p. 40, above).

Melville himself evidently visited both Callao and Lima. The starboard watch, to which he belonged, was given a forty-eight-hour shore "liberty" between Dec. 8, 1843, and Jan. 3, 1844 (see Log Book, United States), and it is quite possible that he spent New Year's Day at the historic city of Lima, making the journey from Callao inland over the robber-infested highway. In Omoo, p. 272, he speaks familiarly of the "herds of panniered mules, driven . . . by mounted Indians, along the great road from Callao to Lima"; and one of his sailor's yarns, the "Town-Ho's Story" (Moby-Dick, I, 307-330) is introduced with easy familiarity as follows: "For my humour's sake, I shall preserve the style in which I once narrated it at Lima, to a lounging circle of my Spanish friends, one saint's eve, smoking upon the thick-gilt tiled piazza of the Golden Inn." Perhaps the most convincing evidence that he visited the Peruvian capital is his bird's-eve sketch of the city itself, almost appropriate enough to be a text written to accompany Meyers's painting, "A View of Lima from Mount Christoval [Cristobal]" (Plate V):

"Nor is it, altogether, the remembrance of her cathedral-toppling earthquakes; nor the stampedoes of her frantic seas; nor the tearlessness of arid skies that never rain; nor the sight of her wide field of leaning spires, wrenched cope-stones, and crosses all adroop (like canted yards of anchored fleets); and her suburban avenues of house-walls lying over upon each other like a tossed pack of cards;—it is not these things alone which make tearless Lima the strangest, saddest city thou canst see. For Lima has taken the white veil; and there is a higher

horror in this whiteness of her woe. Old as Pizarro, this whiteness keeps her ruins forever new; admits not the cheerful greenness of complete decay; spreads over her broken ramparts the rigid pallor of an apoplexy that fixes its own distortions" (Moby-Dick, I, 241).

29. As part of Commodore Jones's program for improving naval discipline in the matter of squadron maneuvering, the whole Pacific squadron sailed in line of order on this short cruise from Callao to Valparaiso, to Coquimbo, and back to Callao. The frigate *United States* frequently had to "back" the sails to keep from outrunning the rest of the ships (Log Book and Jackson, Journal, June-July, 1842).

Meyers's painting, "Pacific Squadron," Plate IV, shows such a

formation and was perhaps made at this time.

Franklin (op. cit., pp. 42, 48) explains why it took more than three weeks to make the passage from Callao to Valparaiso, whereas the return trip took only one third of that time: "[From Valparaiso to Callao] The S. E. trade winds prevail along the coast of Chili and Peru, so we were not many days making the passage . . [but] Ships going from Callao to Valparaiso haul by the wind, on port tack, with the southeast trades, and remain on that tack until they reach the 'variables,' about the latitude of Valparaiso, and to westward of the Island of Juan Fernandez. . . . There they pick up a strong westerly wind, and boom along towards Valparaiso at their best speed."

30. Franklin (op. cit., p. 48) throws light on the institution of shore-liberty: "There was not much indulgence of this kind at the time about which I write, for he [Jack] was always a drunkard then, and during the time of the liberty-giving the ship was necessarily in a state of more or less disorganization. It is all changed now [1898], and Jack can go on shore, and behave decently, and come back with his clothes on, which was not the case in those days, for he almost always sold his jacket before he returned to the ship. He was very much given to overstaying his leave, and we youngsters [midshipmen] would be sent on shore with our swords buckled to our sides to bring him on board. If he was disposed to be amicable, he would come with us; if not, he would resist. It was a curious sight to see a boy of sixteen managing, and often with great skill, a six-feet [sic] sailor large enough to eat him up." (Meyers, Journal, under date of July 29, 1842, gives a ribald account of drunken sprees and debauchery during this shore-leave at Coquimbo. See Appendix C, 3, pp. 109-114.)

Previously (pp. 44-45) Franklin describes the ingenuity of the seamen in smuggling liquor on board at Callao, where no shore-liberty was allowed: "I mention the watering on this occasion because of an ingenious way of smuggling liquor on board, that Jack had discovered as the work proceeded. It seems that the water was conveyed to the

mole through pipes. The fountain-head, which I believe was a receiver that was filled by a pump served by the men, was some distance from the mole. When there was a sufficient head of water in the receiver, Jacky would place a small skin (intestine), filled with liquor, in the upper part of the pipe, whence it would be conveyed by the water rushing through to the mole. The Jacky in the boat, being in collusion with those at the upper end, would feel it as it passed through the canvas hose which led from the mole end of the pipe into the cask in the boat. The cask was then marked, and the other Jacky on board, who was striking the water below, and who was also in collusion with the others, would thus know where to look for it. So, in this way, they managed to get a good deal of liquor on board before the trick was discovered."

Even while storing the ship's official whiskey supply on board at Norfolk, the ingenious seamen had contrived to steal a whole barrel of whiskey, and a drunken spree resulted that was so universal it had to be winked at by the officers. (See Franklin, op. cit., p. 46; Log Book, Nov. 16, 1841: "89 Barrells of whiskey received on board. One Barrell stolen by the crew.")

Melville (White-Jacket, pp. 223, 225 ff.) gives equally entertaining accounts of whiskey smuggling in harbor at Rio. The Log Book bears out the seriousness of the problem in the old navy, by showing that almost half of the corporal punishments inflicted during this cruise were for drunkenness and smuggling whiskey, and that a large part of the other half were the indirect results of drinking.

31. See p. 126, note 28, above.

32. The manuscript of the "Abstract" is torn on pages 22 and 23. The emendations to the text, pp. 41-44, have been supplied, in square brackets, by conjecture and by reference to the Log Book and other official documents.

- 33. For the official records of the ensuing account of the American occupation of Monterey see Appendix B, pp. 78-102; and for the eyewitness version of Wm. H. Meyers, see Appendix C, 1, pp. 103-105. Compare Franklin, op. cit., pp. 49-51. (See "Monterey, California," Plate VI, for an eye-witness painting—the only one known to exist—of the American occupation in 1842. In the right foreground the American forces can be seen marching up the hill to take possession of Monterey Castle.)
  - 34. Some term of measure of distance has been omitted.
  - 35. It is not clear what words were torn off here.
- 36. Callahan, List of Officers, etc., p. 32: "Avery, Latham B. Midn., 19 Dec., 1831. Passed Midn., 15 June, 1837. Lieut., 8 Sept., 1841. Dropped, 28 Sept., 1855." For Melville's picture of this interesting

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officer, as "Mad Jack," see White-Jacket, pp. 41-42. Franklin (op. cit., p. 22) confirms the picture of him as an able sea-officer; Meyers, Journal, August 15, September 5, 1842, as a heavy drinker.

37. Henri La Reintrie. See Melville's caricature of him as "Adolphus Dashman" in White-Jacket, pp. 26-27: "He was a remarkably urbane and polished man; with a very graceful exterior, and looked much like an ambassador extraordinary from Versailles"

much like an ambassador extraordinary from Versailles."

38. Callahan, op. cit., p. 696: "Robins, G. W. 2nd. Lieut., 26 April,

1832. 1st. Lieut., 11 Dec., 1836. Died 1 Mar., 1845."

39. Ibid., p. 527: "Stribling, Cornelius K. Midn., 18 June, 1812. Lieut., 1 Apr., 1818. Commander, 28 Jan., 1840. Capt., 1 Aug., 1853. Retired List, 21 Dec., 1861. Commo. on Retired List, 16 July, 1862. Rear-Admiral, Retired List, 25 July, 1866. Died, 17 Jan., 1880." Captain Stribling was in command of the *United States* from Callao to Boston, July-October, 1844, but in all probability he was not the model for Melville's "Captain Claret" in *White-Jacket* (see note 8, above).

40. Callahan, op. cit., p. 172: "Dulany, Daniel F. Midn., 1 Apr., 1828. Passed M., 14 June, 1834. Lieut., 25 Feb., 1841. Dropped, 13 Sept., 1855."

41. For an account of life in Monterey during this fall and winter,

see Franklin, op. cit., pp. 51-52, 55.

- 42. Jackson, Journal, Dec. 7, 1842: "We made the shortest passage from Monterey to Honolulu that ever has been made." Franklin, op. cit., p. 54: "In less than thirty days we were back again, much to the astonishment of everyone. It was thought it would take us nearly sixty days, and when we were seen standing in the bay it was thought something had happened to us, and that we were returning without having accomplished the purpose for which we were sent. It was the quickest trip on record at the time, and I do not believe that any sailing ship has ever made better time since." Commodore Jones did not go on this trip but transferred his flag to the Cyane, not rejoining the United States until Feb. 1, 1843, at Mazatlan.
- 43. See note 8, above, assigning the sobriquet of "Captain Claret" to Armstrong.
- 44. Callahan, op. cit., p. 336: "Lockwood, H. H. Professor, 4 Nov., 1841. Retired List, 18 Aug., 1876. Died, 7 Dec., 1899." He was Professor of Mathematics and the midshipmen's schoolmaster on the United States, 1842-44. Since he was a graduate of West Point and hence unfitted for naval service, Melville made him the central figure of one of the most humorous scenes in White-Jacket (see pp. 433-438). A. T. Mahan (From Sail to Steam, New York, 1907, p. 62), after referring to Melville's anecdote, gives similar ones from his own ac-

quaintance with Professor Lockwood, who was his instructor in infantry tactics at the Naval Academy, 1856-60. According to Franklin (op. cit., p. 23), he retired with the rank of general.

- 45. Meyers, Journal, comments on this drunken dinner party, under date of Feb. 22, 1843: "Washington's Birthday. A ball on board the States, one poor chap buried at the height of the frolic. Heard that the galley negroes were dancing on the poop of the frigate. Select company for Naval Ossifers." And again on Feb. 23: "Heard that the 3 first signers of the Temperance Pledge, Commo. Jones, Capt. Armstrong, & Capt. Stribling were drunk last night." Commodore Jones did circulate a Temperance Pledge among the officers and men of the Pacific Squadron as one of the points on his program of reforming the naval service.
- 46. Charles Haultain, comp., The New Navy List, London, 1843, XIV (May, 1843), 40: "Richard Byron. Date of Commission as Commander, Sept. 20, 1836. H. B. M. S. Champion." The New Navy List for 1844 has no record of him.
- 47. This was the Great Comet of 1843. It was first seen in the Southern Hemisphere late in February and became visible in north temperate latitudes about the middle of March. The tail was about 40° in length, about 1° in width, and practically straight. Its perihelion distance is the smallest on record, about 800,000 kilometers (500,000 miles), so that its head was only a little over 100,000 kilometers from the sun's surface as it swung around this body. (See Dominique François Jean Arago, "The Comet: Scientific Notices of Comets in General... to which is added a full account of the Extraordinary Comet Now Blazing Through the Heavens," The New World, Extra Series No. 65, March, 1843, 1-32.)
- 48. The flagship of Admiral Dupetit-Thouars, who during the past twelve months had taken possession of the Marquesas and Society Islands for France.
- 49. Her place in the squadron was supplied by the *Levant*, which did not arrive on the station, however, until Jan. 30, 1844 (see *U. S. Public Documents*, Ser. No. 431, pp. 472-483).
- 50. Commodore A. J. Dallas was sent out in the sloop Vandalia to relieve Commodore Jones, who had been recalled, by a letter of Jan. 24, 1843 (see p. 99, above), as a diplomatic gesture to conciliate Mexico for his unauthorized attack on Monterey. Dallas arrived at Callao on July 25, 1843, bearing the letter of recall. Finding that Jones had left for a cruise among the Pacific islands, he forwarded the letter of recall, with his own letter of complaint at Jones's "sudden departure," by Admiral Dupetit-Thouars of La Reine Blanche, who delivered it to Jones at Nukahiva, Marquesas Islands, Oct. 5, 1843. This

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was the first news that Jones received relating to the Monterey affair and his recall. He then sailed back to Callao, and, after remaining there six weeks for Dallas, he sailed for the United States in the frigate Constellation, Commodore Kearney, on Jan. 21, 1844, without waiting to be formally relieved. Dallas made a futile chase after Jones through the Pacific islands, pursuing him with letters that showed increasing irritation, and that insinuated that Jones was trying to avoid him. Chagrinned at the outcome of the whole affair, he preferred charges against Jones to the Navy Department for disobedience of orders. The whole correspondence may be found in the Pacific Squadron Letters, 1842-45, Naval Records and Library.

In spite of Jones's convincing defense of his own actions, there is evidence that he was not entirely innocent of trying to elude his successor. On March 12, 1843, at Mazatlan, Mexico, Wm. H. Meyers records in his Journal kept on board the Cyane: "Heard from a party who visited the ship that despatches from government had arrived in which the Commodore was recalled." Although the United States had left Mazatlan ten days before, it seems more than probable that this news would have found its way down to Callao in the three months that elapsed before Jones sailed from there on his cruise to the Pacific islands, June 21, 1843. Certainly he must have heard it from the officers of the Cyane during their joint stay at Honolulu in Aug., 1843. Franklin (of. cit., p. 56) is another witness to the episode: "I do not remember if it was before we started from [Callao] or after the cruise to the Islands had begun that information reached us that Commodore Dallas was ordered out to relieve Commodore Jones. At all events, we were to be absent from the coast for some time, and it would be no easy matter for the new Commodore to catch us; indeed, it did look very much as if we were running away from him. I remember one day, as we were rolling along with a fine breeze after us, we carried away the maintopgallant-mast, when the broad pennant came down by the run, and Lieutenant Avery remarked that it had been kept up by the run for some time."

51. U. S. Public Documents, Ser. No. 3062, pp. 816, 843-844. In 1826 Captain Thomas ap Catesby Jones had been sent in the Peacock to Honolulu on a visit of friendly inspection. On Dec. 23 of that year he had succeeded in negotiating a treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation with the king—the first treaty ever made by Hawaii with any foreign power. Though it was never ratified by the United States government, certain of its stipulations were considered morally binding by both parties.

52. For a contemporary account of these islands, see J. J. Jarves, History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands, London, 1843. Compare

with this Melville's random comments on the Sandwich Islands in Typee. Jarves defends and Melville attacks the missionary-monarchy there.

53. Jackson, Journal, Hilo, Hawaii, July 24, 1843: "We get our water from a most beautiful waterfall which empties into a cove surrounded by high rocks and cliffs and covered with shrubbery of all kinds. What adds to the romantic appearance of this spot is the numerous waternymphs, personated by naked Kanaka girls leaping from the rocks and swimming about the water. Bathing had become quite a fashionable not to say agreeable pastime with us especially when watering." (See also Franklin, op. cit., p. 56.)

54. See A. Kippis, A Narrative of the Voyages Round the World Performed by Captain James Cook, Hartford, 1851, II, 135-151; Sir Joseph Carruthers, Captain James Cook, R. N., One Hundred and Fifty Years After, London, 1930, pp. 51-57, 146-154; Jarves, op. cit., pp. 106-136, 260. See Melville's comments in Typee, pp. 313-315.

Cook was killed at Kealakekua Bay, on the opposite side of the Island of Hawaii from Hilo Bay, early in 1779. The tradition that his body was eaten by the natives, who were cannibals, seems to have been discredited. A portion of his bones were supposedly given back to his crew, who committed them to the deep. Another portion were supposedly buried in a small temple near Kealakekua, the ruins of which still remain today, where they were possibly worshipped by the natives, many of whom thought he was the god Lono. Over this spot a cross of oak was erected by Commander Byron of the frigate Blonde in 1825 (see note 55, below). The facts of Cook's visits to the Sandwich Islands and his death there are still badly tangled with the many and contradictory legends that have grown up about them. Although Melville doubts the tradition that he was eaten by cannibals, he records the anecdote of a native of Maui who asserted that his own body was the burial place of the great navigator's great toe and capitalized on his confessed character as a cannibal by repeating his yarn to credulous tourists, for a fee.

55. Lord George Anson Byron, a cousin of the poet, was a captain in the Royal Navy from 1814 to 1849. In 1825 he brought the bodies of Kamehameha I and his queen back to Hawaii from England in the frigate Blonde. They had died from an attack of the measles, while on a visit to London. (See Captain Lord Byron, Voyage of H.M.S. Blonde to the Sandwich Islands, in the Years 1824-25, London, 1826, pp. 96, 164, for the surveying and naming of Hilo or Byron's Bay; p. 202, for the monument erected to Cook.)

56. Callahan, List of Officers, p. 299: "Johnson, William. Surgeon's Mate, 16 Aug., 1826. Surgeon, 4 Apr., 1831. Retired List, 4 Jan., 1866. Med. Director, 3 Mar., 1871. Died, 7 Apr., 1876." William

Johnson, the Fleet Surgeon of the Pacific Squadron, 1842-44, is made the chief actor, as "Cadwallader Cuticle," in a brutal scene satirizing naval surgery in Melville's White-Jacket, pp. 310 ff.

57. Franklin, op. cit., p. 57: "Permission was granted to as many of us as could be spared to join the party that was making up for a visit to the Volcano of Mauna Loa, . . . about thirty people and about the same number of horses. . . One of [the kanakas] was told off to each of us. . . . They carried immense calabashes in which were stored a change of linen for us, and such other articles as we were obliged to take along. We made a gay looking caravan as we emerged from the little village of Hilo."

Another midshipman, Alonzo C. Jackson, records in his Journal, July 25, 1843, that he was a member of the party also. Since the author of the "Abstract" was present too, the implication is strong that he was something more than a mere seaman.

According to Franklin, the Reverend Titus Coan, head of the missions at Hilo, was of great assistance in fitting out the expedition. Titus Coan (Life in Hawaii, etc. (1835-1881), New York, 1882, pp. 69-70, 270-278) gives a description of Kilauea—which, he says, is the largest known active crater in the world—and an account of the eruptions of May 30, 1840, and Jan. 10, 1843.

58. According to Franklin (op. cit., p. 57), the Reverend Mr. Coan came on board one Sunday while the *United States* was at Hilo and preached an edifying sermon: "Although more than fifty years have elapsed since, I remember the text to this day; it was, 'The Law of the Lord is Perfect.'" Jackson, Journal, July 23, 1843, substantiates his memory and adds: "But the Law of man is imperfect." This pulpit-courtesy was returned; Coan (op. cit., pp. 82-83) gives the sequel:

"In this building [the first framed church building in Hilo], capable of seating about 2000 people, we first welcomed Commodore Ap Catesby Jones, of the Frigate United States, with his officers and brass band. The courteous commodore and his chaplain consented to deliver each an address of congratulation and encouragement to the people for their ready acceptance of the Gospel, and for their progress in Christian civilization. He alluded to a former visit of his to Honolulu [1826] by order of the United States government, to investigate certain complaints made by a class of foreign residents against the American missionaries, stating that on a patient and careful hearing of the parties, the missionaries came out triumphantly, and their abusers were put to shame.

"Our people at this time [1843] had never heard the music of a brass band, and the commodore kindly gave them a treat. After playing several sacred songs which delighted the natives beyond all music they had before heard, the band, at a signal from the commodore, struck up 'Hail Columbia.' An electric thrill rushed through the great congregation, and all sprang to their feet in amazement and delight."

In spite of the professional bias of Coan's volume, it is one of the most intelligent and illuminating accounts of the Sandwich Islands at this period to be had.

59. See Plate IX, "View of Honolulu," painted in August, 1843, during Melville's residence.

60. The occupation really lasted for five months—Feb. 25-July 31, 1843—instead of a few days. Melville gives a full account of it, defending the English side, in an appendix to Typee, pp. 343-348. For a comparison of his version with the official record of the episode, see United States Public Documents, Ser. No. 3062, pp. 817, 853-868.

61. Melville's description of King Kamehameha III is far less flattering (see *Typee*, pp. 253-254). Four days later, Aug. 17, 1843, with far less ceremony Melville himself came on board the *United States* as an ordinary seaman.

62. On March 7, 1843, William Hooper, Acting United States Commercial Agent at Honolulu, wrote to Secretary of State Daniel Webster: "A census of American citizens residents at these islands taken under my direction gives the number of 404, a large proportion of which are interested in landed property" (see *United States Public Documents*, Ser. No. 3062, p. 854). This census list, unfortunately, has not been preserved.

63. Coan, op. cit., p. 243: "Near the large stone church [at Honolulu] is the flourishing Kawaiahao Female Seminary. Its germ was a small family school under the care of the Reverend L. H. Gulick and wife. Miss Lydia Bingham, principal of the Ohio Female College near Cincinnati, was called to take the charge of this school." And again, p. 245: "At Waialua [near Honolulu] there was established, by the Reverend O. H. Gulick, a boarding-school for Hawaiian girls. On his removal as a missionary to Japan, the institution obtained as an efficient principal the daughter of the Reverend J. S. Green (Miss Mary Green), under whose care the school still flourishes."

64. There were other interesting sides to life in Honolulu at this time. For the record left by William H. Meyers, see Appendix C, 4, pp. 114-116, above, and Plate XI, "Valley of Pali." Melville's references to the Sandwich Islands (*Typee*, pp. 166, 199, 244, 250, 253-254, 259, 264-268, 285, 302-303, 314-315, 343-348) contain numerous disparagements of missionary activities there and of the missionary-monarchy which civilization had bestowed upon the natives.

65. See Appendix A, 4, p. 77, above.

66. The circumstantial account of this same incident in White-Jacket,

pp. 90-93, is a good example of how literally Melville sometimes transcribed from life. One day, he says, a derelict lifebuoy was descried floating by and was fished up over the bows of the "Neversink":

"'There, Bungs!' cried Scrimmage, a sheet-anchor man, 'there's a good pattern for you; make us a brace of lifebuoys like that; something that will save a man, and not fill and sink under him, as those leaky quarter-casks of yours will the first time there's occasion to drop 'em. I came near pitching off the bowsprit the other day; and, when I scrambled inboard again, I went aft to get a squint at 'em. Why, Bungs, they are all open between the staves. Shame on you! Suppose you yourself should fall overboard, and find yourself going down with buoys under you of your own making—what then?'

"'I never go aloft, and don't intend to fall overboard,' replied

Bungs. . . .

"Next day, just at dawn, I was startled from my hammock by the cry of 'All hands about ship and shorten sail!' Springing up the ladders, I found that an unknown man had fallen overboard from the chains; and darting a glance toward the poop, perceived, from their gestures, that the life-sentries there had cut away the buoys.

"It was blowing a fresh breeze; the frigate was going fast through the water. But the one thousand arms of the five hundred men soon tossed her about on the other tack, and checked her further headway.

"'Do you see him?' shouted the officer of the watch through his trumpet, hailing the mainmast-head. 'Man or buoy, do you see either?'

"'See nothing, sir,' was the reply.

"'Clear away the cutters!' was the next order. 'Bugler! call away the second, third, and fourth cutters' crews. Hands by the tackles!'

"In less than three minutes the three boats were down. More hands were wanted in one of them, and, among others, I jumped in to make up the deficiency.

"'Now, men, give way! and each man look out along his oar, and look sharp!' cried the officer of our boat. For a time, in perfect silence, we slid up and down the great seething swells of the sea, but saw nothing. . . . After pulling about for two or three hours, we spied the recall signal signal at the frigate's fore-t'-gallant mast-head, and returned on board, having seen no sign even of the lifebuoys.

"The boats were hoisted up, the yards braced forward, and away we bowled—one man less.

"'Muster all hands!' was now the order; when, upon calling the roll, the cooper was the only man missing.

"I told you so, men,' cried the captain of the head; I said we would lose a man before long.'

"'Bungs, is it?' cried Scrimmage, the sheet-anchor man; 'I told

him his buoys wouldn't save a drowning man; and now he has proved it!"

In this remarkable piece of literal transcription from life Melville found it necessary to invent little. Beyond the transposition of the scene from off Nukahiva to the vicinity of Cape Horn, his only embellishment is to give the anecdote a setting in sailor superstition: a derelict lifebuoy presages the cooper's death; and, on the night following his loss, Melville in his White Jacket up aloft is taken for the cooper's ghost by the frightened seamen, who give him a spill from the main-royal-yard to test his corporeality.

67. Vincendon-Dumoulin and C. Desgraz (Iles Marquises, ou Nouka-Hiva, Histoire, Géographie, Moeurs et Considérations Générales, Paris, 1843) give an excellent contemporary account of the islands. See especially pp. 119-137, which contain the official report of the military occupation in 1842 by Rear-Admiral Dupetit-Thouars, commanding La Reine Blanche. Having arrived at Nukahiva in the summer of 1842, in the midst of these proceedings, Melville keeps up a running attack on the French throughout Typee, pp. 13-14, 19-21, 131, 184, 254, 263, 343. In Omoo he continues the attack and tells how he was imprisoned on La Reine Blanche at Tahiti for five days as a mutineer.

68. Captain David Porter, Journal of a Cruise Made to the Pacific Ocean, in the United States Frigate Essex, in the Years 1812, 1813, 1814, Philadelphia, 1815, II, 82: "On the 19th November [1813], the American flag was displayed in our fort, a salute of seventeen guns was fired from the artillery mounted there, and returned by the shipping in the harbour. The island was taken possession of for the United States, and called Madison's Island [Nukahiva Island], the fort, Fort Madison, the village, Madison's Ville, and the bay, Massachusetts Bay [Anna Maria]. The following declaration of the act of taking possession was read and signed, after which the prosperity of our newly acquired Island was drank by all present. The object of this ceremony had been previously and was again explained to the natives; they were all much pleased at being Melleekees, as they called themselves." The declaration follows. Porter was at the Marquesas Islands from October 23 to December 9, 1813, engaged in refitting his ships in order to continue his operations against the British during the War of 1812. He found it necessary to subdue the hostile natives and take formal possession of the islands in order to expedite his work. He gives a detailed and interesting account of his residence there in his Journal, II, 1-145, which Melville used as a source for a large part of his Typee.

69. It was in this "cannibal valley" that Melville says he spent four months in "indulgent captivity," in 1842, an account of which resi-

dence forms the staple of his Typee, A Peep at Polynesian Life (1846). Now, more than a year later, he was unexpectedly able to say a second and last farewell, safe on board an American man-of-war, as the frigate United States sailed past Typee Bay on the way to her anchorage at Taiohaë.

70. For Melville's embellishment of this royal visit, with a satirical thrust at the thin veneer of the French civilization at Nukahiva, see

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71. Franklin (op. cit., p. 62) describes in detail the beauties of this land-locked bay, but he was not favorably impressed with the social life there, remarking: "We did not remain long at these Islands, where there was nothing to do but look at a lot of half-naked savages, but got under way and sailed for Tahiti."

72. Vincendon-Dumoulin and C. Desgraz (Iles Taïti, Esquisse Historique et Géographique, précédée de Considérations Générales sur la Colonisation Française dans l'Océanie, Paris, 1844) give an excellent

contemporary account of the islands.

73. Cook's first visit to Tahiti was from April 11 to July 13, 1769, most of the three months being spent at Matavai Bay. (See A. Kippis, A Narrative of the Voyages Round the World Performed by Captain James Cook, Hartford, 1851, pp. 29-42; Captain Cook's Voyages, London, 1790, I, 48-105.)

74. This famous village was the scene of the adventures described in the first half of Melville's Omoo: a Narrative of Adventures in the South Seas (1847). During this week's visit a year later he probably revisited old scenes and perhaps renewed old acquaintances made during his four months' residence in the fall and winter of 1842-43.

75. This once-famous character is picturesquely described by Melville, Omoo, pp. 115-117, and also by Franklin, op. cit., p. 62.

76. Polynesian for "young women." Melville's spelling is "whihenees."

- 77. Captain Cook's Voyages, I, 71-73, and passim. It was here that Cook set up his observatory to study the transit of Venus across the sun on June 3, 1769, this having been the main purpose of his voyage.
  - 78. This island is the scene of the last half of Melville's Omoo.
- 79. See George Pritchard, Queen Pomare and Her Country, London, 1879, and Missionary's Reward; or, the Success of the Gospel in the Pacific, London, 1844, for an account of this famous queen. Melville's account of his audience with Queen Pomaré (Omoo, pp. 358-369) presents her in a much less favorable light.

80. See Melville's account of "going native" at Nukahiva in Typee, and W. H. Meyers at Honolulu, Appendix C, 4, pp. 114-116.

- 81. The supposed original of Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe. He was on the island, alone, from 1704-08.
- 82. See Log Book, United States, Nov. 24-26, 1843. The colors were kept at half-mast in memory of the late Honorable Hugh S. Legaré, Secretary of State, Commodore Isaac Hull, and Commodore David Porter.
  - 83. See p. 130, note 50, above.
- 84. For an account of the speed of the *United States* as a sailer, see notes 1 and 3, above; for an account of another race which she won, see pp. 66, and note 90, below.
- 85. The new flagship of the Pacific Squadron, sent out to relieve the United States.
  - 86. Commodore John Drake Sloat was his successor.
- 87. Franklin, op. cit., p. 69: "The Store-ship Relief was lying at Callao in want of watch officers. As an inducement to me and others to volunteer to remain out, it was held out to us that we should have regular charge of a watch, and that all the duties and responsibilities of a watch-officer would devolve upon us. Wilcox and I were very warm friends, and we agreed to remain." Among the other changes that were made before sailing for home, Midshipman Alonzo C. Jackson was transferred to the Savannah. The confirmatory records of these two journalists are thus missing for the homeward-bound cruise.
- 88. Melville's White-Jacket is technically limited to this last leg of the homeward-bound cruise, from Callao to the United States, but in reality he draws his material freely from the entire cruise, as well as from extraneous sources. The "Abstract" is, quite naturally, condensed for this homeward-bound voyage, which simply retraced the route followed outward-bound.
- 89. For Melville's more dramatic record of the passage of Cape Horn, see White-Jacket, pp. 130-143. He brings together off the pitch of the cape the calm, the storm, and the ship "Sultan" (actually separated by two weeks and twenty-five hundred miles); and he points the description with a tirade against incompetent officers in the United States Navy.
- 90. In White-Jacket, pp. 337-343, Melville also tells of this manof-war race out of Rio. His handling of this episode is a good example of how he frequently embellished his actual experiences on board the frigate United States to heighten the drama and to provide a text for his sermon against naval abuses.

Melville makes three separate transformations of his material, each with a distinctive dramatic appeal. First, he endows the race with an international character, reducing the original five contestants (the American squadron plus a French corvette which early dropped out

of the race) to three, each representing a different nation. Melville himself sponsors the *United States*; Jack Chase is divided in his loyalty but leans towards the English frigate; and the French corvette remains unsponsored. This new alignment of the contestants was obviously designed as a setting for the dialogue in the main-top between Melville and Jack Chase, to show that the latter was a true-blue Briton and to prove to the London reading public that Melville was something of an Anglophile though he wasted no love on the French.

The second change was for the sake of the excitement of the race itself. In reality, the *United States* sprang into a lead early in the race and maintained it throughout; but Melville heightens the suspense by having darkness and fog close in on the scene just as the "Neversink," though still in the rear, is getting into true form and crowding all sail on her rivals. He seems to be guilty of a breach of dramatic technique when on the next day he sacrifices this gain in suspense by leaving the outcome of the race in disappointing uncertainty. But this was deliberate, for Melville's interest, and the reader's, has now shifted from the race itself to anti-naval propaganda.

This third change is pure invention: the seamen are made to stand out on deck through a drenching night with twenty-four-pound shot in their hands, as ballast to trim the ship scientifically to her most approved bearings. The ship's records, however, show that fair weather prevailed all night and that no call was made for all hands. But there is no denying that the inhumanity which Melville complains of is rendered doubly effective and even ironical by making it extremely doubtful whether the sacrifice brought any real glory to the captain on the poop.

The trick of trimming by the head for speed, it is true, was occasionally practiced on board the *United States* in emergencies. During the race out of Callao the previous January (see pp. 63-64, above) the Log Book records: "shifted Shot forward to trim Ship" and "shifted the two after guns in the Cabin abreast of the galley;" but the men were not, even then, required to stand on deck all night in a drenching rain. It made little difference to Melville that no such method was resorted to on the night of Aug. 24, 1844, out of Rio. He knew of the trick, and he was less interested in recording an actual event than in adorning his tale and pointing his moral (see note 1, above, and compare the passage there quoted from Nathaniel Ames, *A Mariner's Sketches*, Providence, 1830, which reads very much like a source for Melville's anecdote).

<sup>91.</sup> See Appendix A, 4, p. 77.

<sup>92.</sup> See Commanders' Letters, United States, 4th Quarter, 1844. On Oct. 3, 1844, Captain Stribling wrote to the Secretary of the Navy re-

porting the arrival of the frigate United States and making the following special request: "The term of service of more than one-half of the crew has already expired; and many more will have completed their term of service in a few weeks. There are on board about fifty men, who enlisted to serve five years. If the public service will permit it, I request permission to discharge these men, when the rest of the crew are paid off, as I believe it would be calculated to promote the best interests of the Navy, to do so. Although these men have no right to expect their discharge before the expiration of their term of service, they could not see their shipmates, with whom they have been serving for three years, discharged and enjoying themselves on shore, without being greatly dissatisfied with their situation." The order came back to pay and discharge the three-year men and such of the five-year men as wished it, and for the ship to go into ordinary for the purpose of a survey. The Log Book for Oct. 14, 1844, notes: "Completed breaking out & clearing out ship. Paid off her crew & turned her over to the officers of the yard." Melville had enlisted for three years and had served only fourteen months of his term; but he obtained his freedom almost two years before it was due, by reason of the generous policy of his commander and the exigencies of the service. The Pay Roll records that he was discharged on Oct. 14, 1844.

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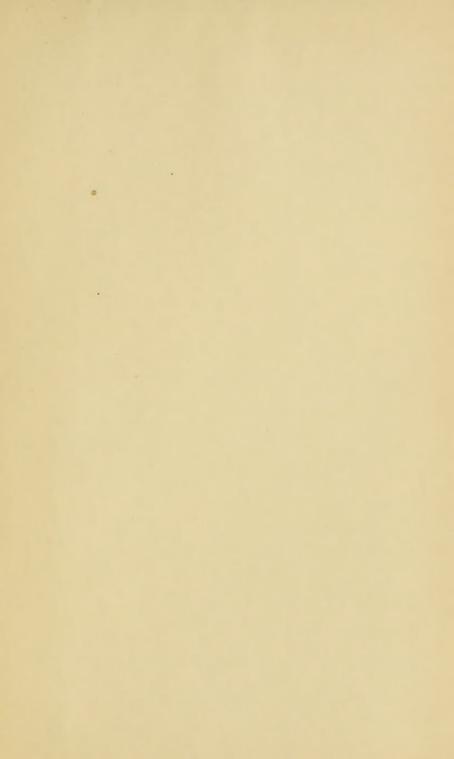
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